THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REBELLION and CIVIL WARS

IN

ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

VOLUME III. PART I.

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DEUS NOBIS HÆC OTIA FECIT

Edward Earl of CLARENDON, Lord High CHANCELLOR of England
and Chancellor of the University of Oxford Ano Dni. 1667.

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With the precedent Paſſages, and Actions, that contri
buted thereunto, and the happy End, and Concluſio
thereof by the KING's bleſſed RESTORATION, an
RETURN, upon the 29th of *May*, in the Year 166

Written by the Right Honourable

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON

Late Lord High Chancellor of *England*, Privy Counſellor in
the Reigns of King CHARLES the Firſt and the Second.

Κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί. *Thucyd.*

Ne quid Falſi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cicer

VOLUME III. PART I.

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TO THE QUEEN.

MADAM,

WITH all Duty and Submiſſion comes into the World the laſt part of this Hiſtory under Your Majeſty's Protection; a juſt Tribute to Your Majeſty, as well on the account of the Memory of the Author, ſo long engaged, and ſo uſefully, in the Service of the Crown, as of the work it ſelf, ſo worthily memorable for the great Subject He treats of; and ſo inſtructive, by his noble way of treating it.*

This work, now it is compleatly publiſh'd, relates the Tranſactions of near twenty years; hardly to be parallel'd in any other time, or place, for the wonderful turns, and paſſages in it. In this ſpace of time, Your Majeſty ſees Your own Country *at the higheſt pitch of Happineſs and Proſperity, and the loweſt degree of Adverſity and Miſery. So that, when a Man carries his Thoughts and* *his Memory over all the Occurrences of thoſe Times, he ſeems to be under the power of ſome Enchantment, and to dream, rather than read, the Relations of ſo many ſurpriſing Revolutions. The Peace and the Plenty of this Kingdom, and, in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, the bloody deſolation of it by a moſt wicked Rebellion, the ruin of ſo many noble and great Families, and the devaſtation of their Eſtates; and, after this, the Reſtitution of all things* as at the beginning, *is hardly credible at this time, even ſo ſoon after all theſe things came to paſs.*

When Your Majeſty ſees one of Your Royal Anceſtors, the firſt who liv'd to Reign as Heir to the two Crowns of Great Britain *united, and, on that account, higher in Reputation, Honour, and Power, than any of his Predeceſſors, brought, by unaccountable Adminiſtrations on the one hand, and by vile Contrivances on the other, into the greateſt difficulties and diſtreſſes throughout all his Kingdoms; then left and abandon'd by moſt of his Servants, whom he had himſelf raiſed to the greateſt Honours, and Preferments; thus reduced to have ſcarce one faithful able Counſellor about him, to whom he could* breath his Conſcience and Complaints, *and from whom he might expect one honeſt, ſound, diſintereſſed Advice: after this, how he was obliged to take up Armes, and to contend with his own Subjects in the Field for his Crown, the Laws, his Liberty, and Life; there meeting with unequal fortune, how he was driven from one part of the Kingdom, and from one Body of an Army to another, till at laſt he was brought under the power of cruel and mercileſs Men, Impriſon'd, Arraign'd, Condemn'd, and Executed like a common Malefactor: And after this ſtill, when Your Majeſty ſees his Enemies triumphing for a time in their own guilt, and ruling over their fellows, and firſt companions in wickedneſs, with ſucceſsful Inſolence, till theſe very Men by force, and fraud, and ſundry artifices, ſtill getting the better one of another, brought all Government into ſuch Confuſion and Anarchy, that no one of them could ſubſiſt; and how then, by God's Providence, the Heir of the Royal Martyr was invited and brought home by the Generality of* *the People, and their Repreſentatives, to return, and take on him the Government, in as full an Exerciſe of it as any of his Predeceſſors had ever enjoyed; not ſubject to any of thoſe Treaties, or Conditions, which had been ſo often offer'd by his Father to the Men then in credit, and power, and, in their pride and fury, had been as often rejected by them: When Your Majeſty ſees before You all this begun, and carried on in Violence and War, and concluded in a peaceful Reſtoration, within the ſpace of twenty years, by* Engliſh *men alone amongſt themſelves, without the Intervention of any Foreign Power; many of the ſame hands joyning in the Recovery and Settlement, as they had done before in the Deſtruction, of their Country; Your Majeſty will certainly ſay,* This was the Lord's doing, and it muſt ever be marvellous in our eyes.

An Account of this great work of God coming to be publiſh'd in Your Majeſty's time, it is humbly conceiv'd not improper to congratulate Your good fortune, that, in the beginning of Your Reign, ſuch a Hiſtory of the greateſt Matters paſs'd within Your own Dominions, comes to light; as well for the neceſſity there may be, after above forty years run out in a very unſettled and various management of the publick Affairs, to put Men in mind again of thoſe miſchiefs under which ſo many great Men fell on both ſides, as in hopes, that on Your Majeſty's account, and for the Glory of Your Name, whom Your People have univerſally receiv'd with joy, this Generation may be inclined to let theſe freſh examples of Good and Evil ſink into their minds, and make the deeper impreſſion in them to follow the one, and avoid the other.

From the Year 1660 *to very near* 1685, *which was the time of King* Charles *the Second's Reign here in* England, *it muſt needs be own'd, that, with all the very good Underſtanding, and excellent good Nature of that King, there was a great mixture of Counſels, and great viciſſitudes of good and bad Events, almoſt throughout that ſpace of time attending his Government. They ſeem indeed to be ſomewhat like the four Seaſons of the Year; of* *of which three Quarters are generally fair, hopeful, flouriſhing, and gay; but there come as conſtantly ſevere Winters, that freez, wither, deſtroy, and cut off many hopeful plants, and expectations of things to come.*

It muſt be own'd too, ſince it can never be concealed, that, from the beginning of the Reſtoration, there was, certainly, not ſuch a Return to God Almighty for the wonderful Bleſſings he had pour'd out with ſo liberal a hand, as, no doubt, was due to the great Author and Giver of all that Happineſs: Neither was there ſuch a prudence in the Adminiſtration, or ſuch a ſteadineſs in the conduct of Affairs, as the freſh Experience of the foregone Misfortunes might well have forewarn'd thoſe that were entruſted in it, to have purſued with Courage and Conſtancy. It is but too notorious there was great forgetfulneſs of God, as well as manifeſt Miſtakes towards the World; which quickly brought forth fruits meet for ſuch undutifulneſs, and ill conduct.

The next four Years after that Reign, were attended with more fatal Miſcarriages; over which it may be more decent to draw a Veil, than to enter into a particular enumeration of them. Many great Princes have been led unawares into irrecoverable Errors; and the greater they are, ſo many more particular Perſons are uſually involv'd in the Calamity.

What follow'd after this time, till Your Majeſty's moſt happy coming to the Throne, is ſo freſh in the memory of all Men yet living, that every one will be beſt able to make his own obſervations upon it. Such Deliverances have their pangs in the Birth, that much weaken the Conſtitution, in endeavouring to preſerve, and amend it.

And now Your Majeſty, who ſucceeds to a Revolution, as well as a Reſtoration, has the advantage of a retroſpect on all theſe Accidents, and the benefit of reviewing all the failings in thoſe times: and whatſoever was wanting, at thoſe opportunities of amending paſt Errors, in the management of Affairs, for the better eſtabliſhment of the Crown, and the ſecurity of the true old Engliſh *Government, it will be Your Majeſty's happineſs to ſupply*

ply in Your time: A time in ſome ſort reſembling the auſpicious beginning of King Charles *the Second's Reſtoration; for in that time, as now in Your Majeſty's, the People of this Kingdom ran chearfully into Obedience; the chiefeſt Offenders lay quiet under a ſenſe of their own Crimes, and an apprehenſion of the reward juſtly due to them; and all Your Subjects went out to meet Your Majeſty with Duty, and moſt with Love.*

Compariſons of Times may be as odious as that of Perſons; and therefore no more ſhall be ſaid here on that Subject, than that ſince the Reſtoration, and ſome few Years after it, given up to joy, and the forgetfulneſs of paſt Miſeries, there hath been no time that brought ſo much hope of quiet, and ſo general a ſatisfaction to theſe Kingdoms, as that on which we ſaw Your Majeſty ſo happily ſeated upon the Throne of Your Anceſtors. Among all the ſigns of greatneſs and glory in a Prince's Reign, there is none more really advantageous, none more comfortable, than that which Virgil *remarks as a felicity in the time of* Auguſtus,

When Abroad the Soveraign is proſperous, and at
Home does Govern Subjects willing to obey:

When it is not fear that drives and compels them, but affection and loving kindneſs that draws them, to their Duty; and makes them rejoyce under the Laws by which they are Govern'd. Such was certainly the time of Your Majeſty's firſt Entrance; and ſuch God grant it may be Ever.

The two firſt Volumes of this Hiſtory have laid before Your Majeſty the original cauſes, and the foundations of the Rebellion, and Civil War; the contrivances, deſigns, and conſultations in it; and the miſerable events of it; and ſeem'd to have finiſh'd the whole War, when the Author, at the very end of the Ninth Book, ſays, that from that time there remain'd no poſſibility for the King to draw any more Troops together in the Field. *And when there's an end of Action in the Field, the inquiries into the conſequences afterwards are uſually leſs warm.*

But it happens in the Courſe of this Hiſtory, that ſeveral new Scenes of new Wars, and the Events of them, *are open'd in this Volume; which, it is hoped, will prove exceeding uſeful, even in thoſe parts, where, by reaſon of the fulneſs of the Subject, it cannot be delightful, and, in all other parts of it, both uſeful and delightful.*

Your Majeſty eſpecially, who muſt have Your Heart perpetually intent to ſee what follow'd in the cloſe of all thoſe Wars, and by what means and methods the loſs of all that Noble and Innocent Blood, and particularly that portion of the Royal Stream then ſpilt, was recompenſed upon Their Heads who were the Wicked Contrivers of the Parricide, and how at laſt the Miſeries of theſe Nations, and the Sufferings of Your Royal Family were all recover'd by God Almighty's own unerring Hand, will, no doubt, be more agreeably entertain'd in this Volume with the Relation of the ſecret ſteps of the return of God's Mercy, than when he ſtill ſeem'd openly to have forſaken His own oppreſſed Cauſe; wherein ſo much of what was deareſt to Your ſelf was ſo highly concern'd.

Of the Tranſactions within theſe Kingdoms, ſoon after the War was ended, eſpecially juſt before and after the barbarous Murther of the Bleſſed King, this Author could have but ſhort and imperfect informations abroad. It cannot therefore juſtly be expected that he ſhould be ſo full, or minute in many circumſtances relating to the Actions and Conſultations of that Party here at home, as are to be found in ſome other Writers, whoſe buſineſs it was to intend only ſuch matters.

One thing indeed were very much to be wiſh'd, that he had given the World a more diſtinct, and particular Narrative of that Pious King's laſt moſt magnanimous Sufferings in his Impriſonments, Trial, and Death. But it ſeems the remembrance of all thoſe deplorable paſſages was ſo grievous, and inſupportable to the Writer's mind, that he abhorr'd the dwelling long upon them, and choſe rather to contract the whole black Tragedy within too narrow a compaſs. But this is a loſs that can only now be lamented, not repaired.

But when the Hiſtory brings Your Majeſty to what the Noble Writer eſteem'd one of his principal buſineſſes in this Volume, to attend King Charles *the Second, and his* *two Royal Brothers, throughout all their wandrings, which take up a conſiderable ſhare of it, and are moſt accurately and knowingly deſcribed by him, as having been a conſtant Witneſs of moſt of them, it is preſumed, This part may give Your Majeſty equal ſatisfaction to any that is gone before it. It will not be unpleaſant to Your Majeſty, ſince You have known ſo well the happy concluſion of it, to ſee the Baniſh'd King under his long adverſe Fortune, and how many Years of Trouble and Diſtreſs he patiently waited God Almighty's appointed time, for his Redemption from that Captivity.*

In that diſconſolate time of diſtreſs and lowneſs of his Fortune, Your Majeſty will find cauſe to obſerve, that there were Factions even Then in his little Court beyond Sea; ſo inſeparable are ſuch undecent and unchriſtian Contentions from all Communities of Men: They are like Tares ſown by an Enemy amongſt the Wheat, whilſt good Men ſleep.

Upon the Subject of the Factions in thoſe days, there is a particular paſſage in this Hiſtory, of two Parties in that Court abroad, who thought it worth their while, even Then to be very induſtrious in proſecuting this Author with unjuſt and falſe Accuſations. And the Author himſelf obſerves, that, howſoever thoſe Parties ſeem'd, on moſt other accounts, incompatible the one with the other, they were very heartily united in endeavouring to compaſs His deſtruction; and for no other reaſon, that ever appear'd, but his being an unwearied Aſſertor of the Church of England's *Cauſe, and a conſtant Friend and Servant to the true Intereſt of it; to which either of Them was really more irreconcileable, than they were to each other, whatſoever they pretended.*

This paſſage ſeems to deſerve a particular reflection, becauſe, within few Years after that King's Reſtoration, ſome of both thoſe Parties joyn'd again in attacking this Noble Author, and accuſing him anew of the very ſame pretended Crimes they had objected to him abroad; where there had been ſo much Malice ſhew'd on one ſide, and ſo much natural and irreſiſtible Innocency appear'd on the other, that one would have thought, no Arrow out of the ſame Quiver, could have been enough envenom'd to hav hurt ſo faithful, ſo conſtant, and ſo tried a Servant t the Church and Crown.

This particular, and another, wherein Your Majeſt will find what Advice this Author gave his Royal Maſter upon the occaſion of his being much preſſed to go to Churc to Charenton, and how ſome Intrigues, and Snares cunningly laid on one ſide, were very plainly and boldl withſtood on the other by this Author, will let the Worl ſee, why this Man was by any means to be removed, i his Adverſaries could effect it, as one that was perpetually croſſing their Miſchievous Deſigns, by an habitua courſe of adhering unmoveably to the Intereſt of thi Church and Nation.

In the progreſs of this Book, Your Majeſty will alſ find ſome very near that King whilſt he was abroad, endeavouring to take advantage of the forlorne and deſperat Circumſtances of his Fortune, to perſwade him, that th Party who had Fought for his Father, was an inſignificant, a deſpicable, and undone Number of Men; an on this account, putting him on the thoughts of Marryin ſome Roman Catholick Lady, who might engage thoſe o that Religion, both at Home and Abroad, in his Majeſty' Intereſt; Others at the ſame time, with equal importunity, recommending the power of the Presbyterians, a moſt able to do him Service, and bring him Home.

This Noble Author all this while perſiſted, in the integrity of his Soul, to uſe that credit his Faithfulneſs an Truth had gain'd him, to convince the King, that Forreig Force was a ſtrength not deſirable for him to depend o and, if it were ſuſpected to be on the Intereſt of Poper of all things moſt likely to prevent, and diſappoint his R ſtoration; that for his own Subjects, none of them we to be neglected; his Armes ought to be ſtretched out to r ceive them all; but the old Royal Party was that h Majeſty ſhould chiefly rely on, both to aſſiſt him in his R turn, and afterwards to eſtabliſh his Government.

This Noble Author had been a watchful obſerver of that had paſſed in the time of the Troubles; and had t opportunity to have ſeen the Actions, and penetrated, in

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good meaſure, into the Conſultations of thoſe days, and was no ill judge of the Temper and Nature of Mankind; and He, it ſeems, could not be of opinion, but that They who had ventur'd all for the Father, would be the trueſt and firmeſt Friends to the Son.

Whether this grew up in him to be his judgement, from his obſervation of the Rules of Nature, and a general practice in all Wiſe Men to depend moſt on the Service, and Affection of thoſe who had been ſteady to them in their diſtreſſes; or whether a Luke-warm Trimming indifferency, though ſometimes dignified with the Character of Politicks, did not ſuit with His plain dealing, it is certain, he never could Adviſe a Prince to hold a Conduct that ſhould grieve, and diſoblige his old Friends, in hope of getting new ones, and make all his old Enemies rejoyce. But, however his Malicious Proſecutors afterwards ſcandalized him, as being the Author of ſuch Counſels, and objected to him what was their own advice and practice, He really thought this kind of Conduct weaken'd the hands, and tended to the Subverſion of any Government. And the ſucceſs has approved this judgement; for in the very inconſtant, and variable Adminiſtration under that King, it was found by Experience, and to this day the Memorials of it are extant, that he had Quiet and Calm days, or more Rough and Boiſterous Weather, as he favour'd, or diſcountenanced his own Party; call'd indeed a Party by the Enemies of it, upon a Levelling Principle of allowing no diſtinctions; though all who have contended againſt it, were properly but Parties; whilſt that was then, and is ſtill, on the advantage-ground of being Eſtabliſhed by the Laws, and Incorporated into the Government.

By degrees Your Majeſty is brought, in the courſe of this Hiſtory, as it were to the Top of ſome exalted height, from whence You may behold all the Errors and Misfortunes of the Time paſt with advantage to Your ſelf; may view Armies drawn up, and Battles Fought, without Your part of the Danger; and, by the Experience of former Misfortunes, Eſtabliſh Your own Security.

It ſeems to be a Situation not unlike that of the Temple of Wiſdom in Lucretius; from whence he adviſes his

Readers to look down on all the Vanity and Hurry of the World. And as that Philoſophical Poet does very movingly deſcribe the purſuits of thoſe whom he juſtly ſtyles Miſerable Men, diſtracting themſelves in weariſome Contentions about the Buſineſs and Greatneſs of an empty World ſo does this Noble Hiſtorian, with true and evident deductions from one Cauſe and Event to another, and ſuch an agreeable thread of entertainment, that one is never content to give over reading, bring Your Majeſty to an eaſy aſcent over all the knowledge of thoſe Miſerable times from whence not in ſpeculation onely, but really and experimentally, You may look down on all the folly, and madneſs, and wickedneſs of thoſe ſecret Contrivances, and open Violences, whereby the Nation, as well as the Crown, wa brought to Deſolation; and ſee how falſly and weakl thoſe great and buſy diſturbers of Peace pretended Reformation, and Religion, and to be ſeeking God in every on of their Rebellious and Sinful Actions; whereas God wa not to be found in their Thunder, nor their Earthquakes that ſeem'd to ſhake the foundations of the World; but i the ſtill voice of Peace he came at laſt, to defeat and diſappoint all their Inventions: That God, to whom Vengeanc belongs, aroſe, and ſhew'd himſelf in defence of that Righteous Cauſe of the Crown and Church; which Your Majeſty will obſerve to have been Combin'd againſt, Fough with, Overthrown, and in the end Rais'd and Reeſtabliſhed together. Now theſe things happen'd for enſample and they are written for our admonition.

It is now moſt humbly ſubmitted to Your Majeſty judgement, whether the conſideration of theſe matter ſet forth in this Hiſtory, be not the moſt uſeful proſpec not for Your ſelf onely, but Your Nobleſt Train, Your grea Council, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, in Parliament aſſembled.

When Your Majeſty is ſo attended, by God's bleſſing, Power on Earth will be able to diſappoint Your Wiſdon or reſiſt Your Will. And there may be need of all th Power and Authority, to preſerve and defend Your Subjects, as well as Your Crown, from the like Diſtraction and Invaſions. There may want the concurrence of

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Parliament, to prevent the return of the ſame miſchievous practices, and to reſtrain the madneſs of Men of the ſame Principles in this Age, as deſtroyed the laſt: ſuch as think themſelves even more capable than thoſe in the laſt, to carry on the like wicked deſigns; ſuch as take themſelves to be inform'd, even from this Hiſtory, how to mend the miſtakes then committed by the principal Directors on that ſide, and by a more refin'd skill in wickedneſs to be able once again to overthrow the Monarchy, and then to perpetuate the deſtruction of it.

There is no doubt, Madam, but every thing that is repreſented to Your Majeſty of this Nature, will find a Party ready to deny it; that will joyn hand in hand to aſſure the World there is no ſuch thing. It is a Common Cauſe, and it is their Intereſt, if they can, to perſwade Men, that it is only the heat and warmth of High-Church *Inventions, that ſuggeſt ſuch Fears and Jealouſies.*

But let any impartial Perſon judge, to whom all the Libertines of the Republican Party are like to unite themſelves; and whether it is imaginable, that the Eſtabliſh'd Government, either in Church or State, can be ſtrengthened, or ſerv'd by them. They muſt go to the Enemies of Both, and pretend there is no ſuch thing as a Republican Party in England, *that they may be the leſs obſerv'd, and go on the more ſecure in their deſtructive projects.*

They can have no better Game to play, than to declare, that none but Jacobites *alarm the Nation with theſe Apprehenſions; and that* Jacobites *are much greater Enemies than Themſelves to Your Majeſty. Let that be ſo: no Man, in his Wits, can ſay any thing to Your Majeſty in behalf of any, let them be who they will, that will not own Your Government, and wiſh the Proſperity and the Happineſs of it, and contribute all they can to maintain it.*

But whilſt theſe Men moſt falſely aſperſe the Sons of the Church of England *for being* Jacobites, *let them rather clear themſelves of what they were lately charged before Your Majeſty, that there are Societies of them which celebrate the horrid Thirtieth of* January, *with an execrable Solemnity of ſcandalous Mirth; and that they* *have Seminaries, and a ſort of Univerſities, in* England *maintain'd by great Contributions, where the fierceſt Doctrines againſt Monarchical, and Epiſcopal Government are Taught and Propagated, and where they bear an implacable hatred to Your Majeſty's Title, Name, and Family.*

This ſeems to be a Torrent that cannot be reſiſted bu by the whole Legiſlative Authority; neither can Your Throne, which they are thus perpetually aſſaulting, or undermining, be ſupported by a leſs Power.

In theſe difficulties Your great Council will, over and above their Perſonal duty to Your Majeſty, take themſelves to be more concern'd to be zealous in the defence of Your Royal Prerogative, as well as of their own juſt Rights and Privileges, in that it was under the Name and Style of a Parliament, though very unjuſtly ſo called, that al the Miſchiefs mention'd in this Hiſtory were brought upon the Kingdom.

They beſt can diſcover the Craft and Subtilty formerly uſed in thoſe Conſultations; which firſt inveigled, and drew Men in from one wickedneſs to another, before they were aware of what they were doing; and engaged them to think themſelves not ſafe, but by doing greater Evils than they began with.

They will, no doubt, be filled with a juſt indignation againſt all that Hypocriſy and Villany, by which the Engliſh *Name, and Nation, were expoſed to the Cenſure of the reſt of the World: They only can be able to preſent Your Majeſty with remedies proper, and adequate to all theſe Evils, by which God may be Glorified, and the ancient Conſtitution of this Government Retriev'd, and Supported.*

There is one Calamity more, that ſtands in need of a Cure from Your own Soveraign hand. It is in truth a peculiar Calamity fallen moſt heavily on this Age, which though it took its chief riſe from the diſorderly, diſſolute times of thoſe Wars, and has monſtrouſly increaſed ever ſince, yet was never own'd ſo much as Now, and that is a barefaced contempt, and diſuſe of all Religion whatſoever. And indeed what could ſo much feign'd

Sanctity, and ſo much real Wickedneſs, during that Rebellion begun in 1641, *produce elſe in fooliſh Mens hearts, than to ſay,* There is no God?

This Irreligion was then pretended to be cover'd with a more ſignal Morality and preciſe ſtrictneſs in Life and Converſation, which was to be a recompence for the loſs of Chriſtianity. But now, even that Shadow of Godlineſs and Virtue is fled too. Atheiſm, and Profaneſs, diligently cultivated, have not failed to produce a proſtitution of all Manners in contempt of all Government.

This Profaneſs and Impiety ſeems, next to the horrible Confuſions of the late Rebellion, to have gain'd ground chiefly by this method, that, when many who have been in Authority have not, on ſeveral Accounts, been heartily affected to the ſupport of the Church Eſtabliſh'd by Law, there has crept in, by little and little, a liberty againſt all Religion. For where the chief Adviſers or Managers of Publick Affairs, have inclined to alterations, which the Eſtabliſhed Rules have not countenanced, they durſt not cauſe the Laws to be put in Execution, for fear of turning the force of them on Themſelves; ſo their next refuge has been to ſuffer Men to obſerve no Diſcipline, or Government at all.

Thus the Church of England, *put to Nurſe, as it were, ſometimes to ſuch as have been inclined to Popery, and ſometimes to other Sects, and ſometimes to Men indifferent to all Religion, hath been in danger of being ſtarv'd, or overlaid, by all of them; and the ill conſequence has redounded not onely to the Members of that Communion, but to all the Profeſſors of Chriſtianity it ſelf.*

Whoever have ventur'd to give warning of theſe wicked deſigns and practices, have been render'd as Perſons of ill temper and very bad affections. They that have been in Credit and Authority, have been frequently inclined to be favourable to the Men complain'd of; it has been offered on their behalf, that their intentions were good; and that it was even the Intereſt of the Government to cover their Principles, whatever might be the conſequences of them.

Thus theſe Miſchiefs have been ſtill growing, and no Laws have hitherto reached them; and, poſſibly, they are *become incapable of a remedy; unleſs Your Majeſty's great Example of Piety and Virtue ſhall have ſufficient influence to amend them: No honeſt Man can ſay it is not reaſonable, and even neceſſary, to watch them; and that, in compaſſion to Your Subjects, as well as Juſtice to Your ſelf. This Hiſtory hath ſhewn Your Majeſty their Fruits in the late times, by which You ſhall know them ſtill; for Your Majeſty well remembers Who has ſaid, that*

> Men do not gather Grapes of Thorns, or Figs of Thiſtles.

That God may give Your Majeſty a diſcerning Spirit, a wiſe, and underſtanding Heart, to judge aright of all things that belong to Your Peace; that He may enable You to ſubdue Your Enemies Abroad by ſucceſsful Counſels, and Armes, and to reduce Your Ill willers at Home by prudent Laws, adminiſter'd with the Meekneſs of Wiſdom; that He would give You length of days in one hand, and Riches and Honour in the other; that You, in Your days, may have the Glory to reſtore good Nature (for which the Engliſh *Nation was formerly ſo celebrated) and good Manners, as well as the ſincere Profeſſion, and univerſal Practice of the True Religion, in Your Kingdoms; and that His Almighty Power may defend You with His favourable Kindneſs as with a Shield, againſt all Your Adverſaries of every kind, are the Zealous, Conſtant, and Devout Prayers of ſo many Millions, that it were the higheſt preſumption in any One Perſon, to ſubſcribe a particular Name to ſo Univerſal a Concern.*

THE

Hiſtory of the Rebellion, &c.

BOOK X.

Jer. xxx. 6.

Wherefore do I ſee every Man with his hands on his loins, as a Woman in travail, and all faces are turn'd into paleneſs?

Jer. XLVII. 6.

O thou ſword of the Lord, how long will it be e're thou be quiet? put up thy ſelf into thy ſcabbard, reſt, and be ſtill.

Ezek. XXXIV. 2.

Woe be to the Shepherds of Iſrael, that do feed themſelves; ſhould not the Shepherds feed the Flocks?

THE Actions of the laſt Year were attended with ſo many diſmal Accidents and Events, that there were no ſeeds of hope left to ſpring up in this enſuing ill year; for it was enough diſcern'd how little ſucceſs the Treaty with the *Scots* would produce; which yet the King did not deſire to put a period to, otherwiſe than by poſitively declaring, “that he would “never conſent to the alteration of the Church Government, but was willing enough that they ſhould entertain any other hopes, and was not himſelf without hope, that by ſatisfying the Ambition, and Intereſt of particular Men, he might mitigate the rigour of the Presbyterian Faction; and to that purpoſe Monſieur *Montrevil* was gone from *London* to the *Scotiſh* Army, then before *Newark*, having taken *Oxford* in his way, and ſo given an Account to the King of his obſervations,

tions, and receiv'd from him ſuch Information and Inſtruction as was neceſſary for the work in hand.

In the mean time no ways were left untryed to draw ſuch a Body of an Army together, as might enable his Majeſty to make ſome attempt upon the Enemy; and if he could, by all poſſible endeavours, have drawn out of all his Garriſons left, a force of five thouſand Horſe and Foot (which at that time ſeem'd a thing not to be deſpaired of) he did more deſire to have loſt his life, in ſome ſignal attempt upon any part of the Enemies Army, than to have enjoyed any conditions which he foreſaw he was ever like to obtain by Treaty; and he was not out of hope of a Body of five thouſand Foot to be landed in *Cornwal*, which his Letters from *France* confidently promiſed, and which had been ſo much expected, and depended upon by the Prince, that it kept him from tranſporting himſelf into *Silly*, till *Fairfax* was march'd (as hath been ſaid before) within little more than twenty Miles of *Pendennis*. For Sr *Dudley Wyat* had been ſent expreſsly from the Lord *Jermyn*, to aſſure the Prince, that ſuch a Body of five thouſand Foot were actually raiſed under the Command of *Ruvignie*, and ſhould be Embarked for *Pendennis* within leſs than a month; and the Lord *Jermyn*, in a Poſtſcript to that Letter which he writ to the Chancellor of the Exchequer by Sr *Dudley Wyat*, wiſhed him not to be too ſtrict in the computation of the Month from the date of the Letter, becauſe there might be accidents of Winds at that Seaſon; but he deſired him to be confident, that they ſhould be all landed within the expiration of ſix Weeks, and by that Meaſure to conduct the reſolutions, and to decline fighting upon that Account: After all this, it is as true, that there was never a Man at this time levied, or deſign'd for that Expedition, only the Name of *Ruvignie* (becauſe he was of the Religion, and known to be a good Officer) had been mention'd, in ſome looſe diſcourſe by the Cardinal, as one who would be very fit to Command any Troops which might be ſent into *England* for the relief of the King; which the other, according to his natural credulity, thought to be Warrant enough to give both the King and the Prince that unreaſonable Expectation; the which and many other of that great Lord's Negotiations and Tranſactions, the ſucceeding, and long continuing Misfortunes, kept from being ever after examin'd, or conſider'd and reflected upon.

The Prince ſtayed in the Iſle of *Silly* from *Wedneſday* the 4th of *March* till *Thurſday* the 16th of *April*, the Wind having continued ſo contrary, that the Lords *Capel* and *Hopton* came not to him from *Cornwal* till the *Saturday* before; at which time likewiſe arriv'd a Trumpeter from Sr *Thomas Fairfax*, with ſuch a Meſſage from the Parliament to the

Prince

Prince as might well be called a Summons, rather than an Invitation; yet it was well it came not to *Pendennis*, where it would have found a Party among the Prince's Servants. The next Morning, being *Sunday*, a Fleet of about twenty ſeven, or twenty eight Sail of Ships, incompaſſed the Iſland; but within three or four hours, by a very notable Tempeſt, which continued two days, they were diſperſed. Upon this, and a clear determination of the weakneſs of the Place, if it ſhould be attacked by any conſiderable ſtrength (which both by the Meſſage and the Attendants of it they had reaſon to apprehend) together with the extreme ſcarcity of Proviſions in that Iſland, which had not been, in theſe ſix weeks the Prince ſtaid there, ſupplied with Victual for two days out of *Cornwal*, neither had there been any returns from *France* upon the Lord *Colepepper*'s Application to the Queen, which returns would every day grow more difficult by the Seaſon of the Year, his Highneſs inclined to remove to *Jerſey*; againſt which nothing could be objected of Weight, but the conſideration of the King's being at **London** (which was ſtrongly reported ſtill) in a Treaty; and then, that his Highneſs's remove, eſpecially if by diſtreſs of Weather he ſhould be forced into *France*, might be prejudicial to the King; and therefore it would be reaſonable, firſt to expect ſome Advertiſement from his Majeſty in what condition he was. Hereupon his Highneſs produced in Council this enſuing Letter from the King, which was writ ſhortly after the Battle of *Naſeby*, and which he had conceal'd till that Morning from all the Lords, and which truly, I think, was the only ſecret he had ever kept from the four he had truſted.

A Letter from the King to the Prince, written from Hereford June 23. 1645.

Hereford the 23d *of June* 1645.

Charles,

"MY late misfortunes remember me to command you that "which I hope you ſhall never have occaſion to obey; it is "this; If I ſhould at any time be taken Priſoner by the Re"bels, I command you (upon my bleſſing) never to yield to "any conditions, that are diſhonourable, unſafe for your Per"ſon, or Derogatory to Regal Authority, upon any conſide"rations whatſoever, though it were for the ſaving of my "Life; which in ſuch a Caſe, I am moſt confident, is in "greateſt ſecurity by your conſtant reſolution, and not a whit "the more in danger for their threatning, unleſs thereby you "ſhould yield to their deſires. But let their Reſolutions be "never ſo Barbarous, the ſaving of my Life by complying "with them would make me end my days with torture, and "diſquiet of mind, not giving you my Bleſſing, and Curſing

“all the reſt who are conſenting to it. But your conſtancy
“will make me die chearfully, praiſing God for giving me ſo
“gallant a Son, and heaping my bleſſings on you; which
“you may be confident (in ſuch a caſe) will light on you.
“I charge you to keep this Letter ſtill ſafe by you, until you
“ſhall have cauſe to uſe it; and then, and not till then, to
“ſhew it to all your Council; it being my command to them,
“as well as you; whom I pray God to make as proſperouſly
“glorious as any of the Predeceſſors ever were of

“Your loving Father *Charles* R.

The Prince of Wales Embarks from Silly, *lands at* Jerſey Apr. 17.

AFTER the reading this Letter, and a Conſideration of the probability that the Rebels would make ſome attempt upon his Highneſs there, and the impoſſibility of reſiſting ſuch an attempt in the condition the Iſland then ſtood, it was by his Highneſs with great earneſtneſs propoſed, and by the whole Council (except the Earl of *Berk-ſhire*) unanimouſly adviſed, that the opportunity ſhould be then laid hold on, whilſt the Rebels Ships were ſcatter'd; and that his Highneſs ſhould Embark for *Jerſey*; which he did accordingly on *Thurſday*; and on the next day, being the 17th of *April*, with a proſperous wind landed at *Jerſey*; from whence, the ſame Night, they ſent an Expreſs to the Queen, of the Prince's ſafe arrival in that Iſland; and likewiſe Letters to St *Maloes*, and *Havre de Grace*, to advertiſe the Lord *Colepepper* of the ſame; who receiv'd the Information very ſeaſonably, lying then at *Havre* with two Frigats in expectation of a Wind for *Silly*, and with Command to the Prince from the Queen, immediately to remove from thence. After the Prince had taken an Account of this Iſland, both himſelf, and all their Lordſhips were of opinion, that it was a place of the greateſt ſecurity, benefit, and conveniency to repoſe in, that could have been deſired, and wiſhed for; till upon a clear information, and obſervation of the King's condition, and the ſtate of *England*, he ſhould find a fit opportunity to Act; and the Prince himſelf ſeem'd to have the greateſt averſion, and reſolution againſt going into *France*, except in caſe of danger of ſurpriſal by the Rebels, that could be imagined. In few days Mr *Progers*, who had been diſpatched before (preſently upon the Lord *Colepepper's* coming) from *Paris* for *Silly*, being hinder'd by contrary Winds till he receiv'd the News of the Prince's being at *Jerſey*, came thither, and brought this following Letter from her Majeſty to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in Cipher.

Paris the 5th of April 1646.

A Letter from the Queen to th Chancellor o the Exchequer concerning the Prince's removal into France.

“My Lord *Colepepper* muſt witneſs for me that I have patiently and at large, heard all that he could ſay concerning the condition of *Silly*, and all that has been propoſed for rendering of the Prince of *Wales* his abode there ſafe; yet I muſt confeſs to you, that I am ſo far from being ſatisfied in that point, that I ſhall not ſleep in quiet until I ſhall hear that the Prince of *Wales* ſhall be removed from thence. It is confeſſed, it is not ſufficiently fortified, and is acceſſible in divers places; and the Manning the Works will require a thouſand Men more than you have, or, for ought I ſee, can procure; neither can you be confident, that the loſs of *Cornwal* may not ſuddainly have a dangerous influence upon that Garriſon; moſt of your Soldiers being of that Country. The power of the Parliament at Sea is ſo great, that you cannot rely upon the ſeaſonable and ſafe conveyance of ſuch proportions of Proviſions, as ſo great a Garriſon will require: I need not remember you of what Importance to the King, and all his Party, the ſafety of the Prince's Perſon is; If he ſhould fall into the Rebels hands, the whole would thereby become deſperate; therefore I muſt importunately conjure you to intend this work, as the principal ſervice you can do to the King, Me, or the Prince. *Colepepper* will tell you how I have ſtrain'd to aſſiſt you with preſent Proviſions, Shipping, and Money, neceſſary for the Prince's remove to *Jerſey*; where, be confident of it, he ſhall want nothing. Beſides, for ſatisfaction of others, I have mov'd the Queen Regent to give aſſurance, that if the Prince, in his way to *Jerſey*, ſhould be neceſſitated, by contrary Winds, or the danger of the Parliament Shipping, to touch in *France*, he ſhould have all freedom and aſſiſtance from hence, in his immediate paſſage thither; which is granted with great Chearfulneſs, and Civility, and will be Subſcribed under the hands of the *French* King and Queen, my Brother, and Cardinal *Mazarin*: therefore I hope all ſcruples are now ſatisfied. *Colepepper* is haſtening to you with good Frigats; but if you ſhall find any danger before their Arrival, I ſhall rely upon your care not to omit any opportunity to prevent that danger, according to the reſolution in Council, which *Colepepper* hath acquainted me with; for which I thank you. I need not tell you how acceptable this ſervice will be to the King, who in every Letter preſſes me to write to you concerning my Son's ſafety; nor that I am, and always will be, moſt conſtantly,

“Your aſſured Friend *Henriette Marie R.*

THE Prince and Council were very glad at the receipt of this Letter, conceiving that they had now done all that could be required at their hands; though they were advertiſed at their firſt Landing there, that there was ſtill an expectation of the Prince in *France*; and that he would be ſpeedily importun'd from thence; which they could not believe; but aſſoon as the Lord *Colepepper* came, they plainly diſcern'd that Letter had been written upon advice to *Silly*, and upon foreſeeing that an immediate Journey into *France* would not have been ſubmitted to; and that the Inſtrument mention'd for his Highneſs's quiet and uninterrupted Paſſage through *France* to *Jerſey*, was only a colour, the ſooner to have invited the Prince to have Landed there, if there had been any accidents in his Paſſage; but that the reſolution was, that he ſhould not then have come to *Jerſey*, as it was now, that he ſhould quickly come from thence; to which purpoſe, ſhortly after, came moſt importunate Letters from the Queen; and it ſeems, howſoever all the late Letters from the King to the Prince before his coming out of *England*, were for his repair into *Denmark*, his Majeſty, upon what reaſons I know not, conceiv'd his Highneſs to be in *France*; for after his coming to *Jerſey*, this following Letter was ſent to him, by the Lord *Jermyn*, in whoſe Cipher it was writ, and Deciphered by his Lordſhip:

Oxford the 22d *of March.*

Charles,

A Letter rom the ing to the Prince.

"HOPING that this will find you ſafe with your Mother, "I think fit to write this ſhort but neceſſary Letter to you: "Then know, that your being where you are, ſafe from the "Power of the Rebels, is under God, either my greateſt ſe"curity, or my certain ruin. For your conſtancy to Reli"gion, Obedience to me, and to the Rules of Honour, will "make theſe Inſolent Men begin to hearken to reaſon, when "they ſhall ſee their Injuſtice not like to be crown'd with "quiet; but, if you depart from thoſe grounds for which I "have all this time Fought, then your leaving this Kingdom "will be (with too much probability) call'd ſufficient proof "for many of the ſlanders heretofore laid upon me: where"fore, once again, I command you upon my bleſſing to be "conſtant to your Religion, neither hearkening to Roman "Superſtitions, nor the Seditious and Schiſmatical Doctrines "of the Presbyterians and Independents; for, know that a "perſecuted Church is not thereby leſs pure, though leſs for"tunate. For all other things, I command you to be totally "directed by your Mother, and (as ſubordinate to her) by “the remainder of that Council which I put to you, at your “parting from hence: and ſo God bleſs you.

Charles R.

THIS Letter, and the very paſſionate Commands from the Queen, together with what was privately ſaid to his Highneſs by the Lord *Colepepper*, who from his being at *Paris* had changed his former opinions, and was (though he expreſs'd it tenderly; finding a general averſion) poſitive for his going, wrought ſo far on the Prince, that he diſcover'd an Inclination to the Journey; whereupon the Council preſented at large to him, the Inconveniences and Dangers that naturally might be ſuppoſed would attend ſuch a reſolution: They remember'd, the Carriage of the *French* ſince the beginning of this Rebellion; how it had been originally fomented, and afterwards countenanced by them; and that they had never, in the leaſt degree, aſſiſted the King; that there was no Evidence that, at that time, they were more inclined to him than to the Rebels; that it would be neceſſary they ſhould make ſome publick Declaration on his Majeſty's behalf, before the Heir apparent of the Crown ſhould put himſelf into their hands. There was nothing omitted that could be thought of, to render that reſolution at leaſt to be of that importance that it ought to be throughly weigh'd, and conſider'd, before executed; and ſo, in the end they prevail'd with the Prince (ſince at that time it was not known where the King was) to ſend the Lords *Capel* and *Colepepper* again to the Queen, to preſent the weightineſs of the matter to her Majeſty. One of their Inſtructions was as follows.

The Lord
Capel *an*
Colepepp
ſent to Par
to anſwer
the Queen
from ſendi
for the Prin
into Fran

Their Inſtr
ctions, an
Arrival a
Paris.

“YOU ſhall inform her Majeſty, that We have, with all “duty and ſubmiſſion, conſider'd her Letters to Us concerning our ſpeedy repair into the Kingdom of *France*; the “which direction, We conceive to be grounded upon her “Majeſty's apprehenſion of danger to our Perſon by any reſidence here; the contrary whereof, We believe, her Ma“jeſty will be no ſooner advertiſed of, than ſhe will hold Us “excuſed for not giving that preſent obedience which We de“ſire always to yield to the leaſt Intimation of her Majeſty; “and therefore, you ſhall humbly acquaint her Majeſty, that “We have great reaſon to believe this Iſland, to be defen“ſible againſt a greater Force, than We ſuppoſe probable to be “brought againſt it. That the Inhabitants of the Iſland ex“preſs as much chearfulneſs, unanimity, and reſolution for “the defence of our Perſon, by their whole carriage, and “particularly by a Proteſtation voluntarily undertaken by “them, as can be deſired; and that, if, contrary to expecta“tion, the Rebels ſhould take the Iſland, We can from the

“Caſtle

"Caſtle (a place in it ſelf of very great ſtrength) with the leaſt "hazard remove our ſelf to *France*; which in caſe of Immi-"nent danger We reſolve to do. That our ſecurity being thus "ſtated, We beſeech her Majeſty to conſider, whether it be "not abſolutely neceſſary, before any thought of our remove "from hence be entertain'd, that We have as clear an infor-"mation as may be got, of the condition of our Royal Fa-"ther, and the Affections of *England*; of the Reſolutions of "the *Scots* in *England*, and the Strength of the Lord *Moun-"troſe* in *Scotland*; of the Affairs in *Ireland*, and the conclu-"ſion of the Treaty there; that ſo, upon a full and mature "proſpect upon the Whole, We may ſo diſpoſe of our Perſon "as may be moſt for the benefit and advantage of our Royal "Father; or patiently attend ſuch an alteration and con-"juncture, as may adminiſter a greater advantage than is yet "offer'd; and whether our remove out of the Dominions of "our Royal Father (except upon ſuch a neceſſity, or appa-"rent viſible conveniency) may not have an Influence upon "the Affections of the three Kingdoms to the diſadvantage of "his Majeſty.

WITHIN two days after the two Lords were gone for *Paris*, Sr *Dudley Wyat* arriv'd with the News of the King's being gone out of *Oxford*, before the break of day, only with two Servants, and to what place uncertain; it was believ'd by the Queen, as ſhe ſaid in her Letter to the Prince, that he was gone for *Ireland*, or to the *Scots*; and therefore her Majeſty renew'd her Command for the Prince's immediate repair into *France*; whereas the chief reaſon before was, that he would put himſelf into the *Scots* hands; and therefore it was neceſſary that his Highneſs ſhould be in *France*, to go in the head of thoſe Forces which ſhould be immediately ſent out of that Kingdom to aſſiſt his Majeſty.

THE two Lords found the Queen much troubled, that the Prince himſelf came not; ſhe declared her ſelf "not to "be moved with any reaſons that were, or could be, given "for his ſtay; and that her reſolution was poſitive and unal-"terable: yet they prevail'd with her, to reſpite any poſitive Declaration till ſhe might receive full advertiſement of the King's Condition; who was by this time known to be in the *Scotiſh* Army.

IT is remember'd before, that the Prince, upon his arrival at *Silly*, ſent a Gentleman to *Ireland* to the Marquis of *Ormond*, as well that he might be punctually inform'd of the State of that Kingdom (of which there were ſeveral reports) as that he might receive from thence a Company or two of Foot, for the better Guard of that Iſland; which he foreſaw would be neceſſary, whether he ſhould remain there or not.

he Gentleman had a very quick paſſage to *Dublin*, and came hither very quickly after the Peace was agreed upon with the *riſh* Roman Catholicks, and found the Lord *Digby* there; vho, after his Enterpriſe, and disbanding in *Scotland*, had rſt Tranſported himſelf into the Iſle of *Man*, and from thence nto *Ireland*; where he had been receiv'd, with great kindeſs and generoſity, by the Marquis of *Ormond*, as a Man vho had been in ſo eminent a Poſt in the King's Council and Affairs. He was a Perſon of ſo rare a compoſition by Nature nd by Art (for Nature alone could never have reach'd to) that he was ſo far from being ever diſmay'd upon any Miſortune (and greater variety of Misfortunes never befel any Man) that he quickly recollected himſelf ſo vigorouſly, that e did really believe his condition to be improv'd by that ill ccident; and that he had an opportunity thereby to gain a ew ſtock of Reputation, and Honour; and ſo he no ſooner eard of the Prince's being in the Iſle of *Silly*, and of his Conition, and the Condition of that place, than he preſently conluded, that the Prince's preſence in *Ireland* would ſettle and ompoſe all the Factions there; reduce the Kingdom to his Majeſty's Service; and oblige the Pope's Nuntio, who was an nemy to the Peace, to quit his Ambitious deſigns. The Lord ieutenant had ſo good an opinion of the Expedient, that he ould have been very well contented, that when his Higheſs had been forced to leave *England* he had rather choſen have made *Ireland* than *Silly* his retreat; but, being a Wiſe Man, and having many difficulties before him in view, and he apprehenſion of many contingencies which might encreaſe hoſe difficulties, he would not take upon him to give advice a point of ſo great Importance; but, forthwith, having a Couple of Frigats ready, he cauſed an hundred Men with heir Officers to be preſently put on Board, according to his Highneſs's deſire; and the Lord *Digby* (who always conuded, that That was fit to be done which his firſt thoughts ggeſted to him, and never doubted the Execution of any hing which he once thought fit to be Attempted) put himlf on Board thoſe Veſſels; reſolving, that upon the ſtrength his own reaſon, he ſhould be able to perſwade the Prince, nd the Council which attended him, forthwith to quit *Silly*, nd to repair to *Dublin*; which, he did not doubt, if brought paſs in that way, would have been grateful to the Lord ieutenant. But, by the ſuddain remove of the Prince from *lly*, the two Frigats from *Dublin* miſs'd finding him there; nd that Lord, whoſe Order they were obliged to obſerve, ade all the haſt he could to *Jerſey*; where he found the rince, with many other of his Friends who attended his ighneſs, the two Lords being gone but the day before to attend

The Lord Digby *arrives at* Jerſey *from* Ireland.

attend the Queen; he loſt no time in informing his Highneſs of the happy ſtate and condition of *Ireland*; that the Peace was concluded; and an Army of twelve thouſand Men ready to be Tranſported into *England*; of the great Zeal, and Affection the Lord Lieutenant had for his Service; and that if his Highneſs would repair thither, he ſhould find the whole Kingdom devoted to him; and thereupon poſitively adviſed him, without farther deliberation, to put himſelf aboard thoſe Frigats; which were excellent Sailers, and fit for his ſecure Tranſportation.

THE Prince told him, "that it was a matter of greater Importance, than was fit to be executed upon ſo ſhort deliberation; that he was no ſooner arriv'd at *Jerſey* than he receiv'd Letters from the Queen his Mother, requiring him forthwith to come to *Paris*, where all things were provided for his reception; that he had ſent two of the Lord of the Council to the Queen, to excuſe him for not giving ready Obedience to her Commands; and to aſſure her tha he was in a place of unqueſtionable Security; in which he might ſafely expect to hear from the King his Fathe before he took any other reſolution: That it would be very incongruous now to remove from thence, and to go into *Ireland*, before his Meſſenger's return from *Paris*; in which time, he might reaſonably hope to hear from the King himſelf; and ſo wiſh'd him to have patience till the matter wa more ripe for a determination This reaſonable Anſwe gave him no ſatisfaction; he commended the Prince's averſneſs from going into *France*; "which, he ſaid, was the moſ pernicious Counſel that ever could be given; that it was thing the King his Father abhorr'd, and never would conſent to; and that he would take upon himſelf to write t the Queen, and to give her ſuch ſolid Advice and Reaſons that ſhould infallibly convert Her from that deſire, and tha ſhould abundantly ſatisfy Her that his going into *Irelan* was abſolutely neceſſary; but that a little delay in the execution of it, might deprive Him of all the Fruit which wa to be expected from that Journey; and therefore, renew' his advice, and importunity, for loſing no more time, bu immediately to Embark; which when he ſaw was not lik to prevail with his Highneſs, he repaired to one of thoſ of the Privy Council, who attended the Prince, with whom he had a particular Friendſhip, and lamented to him the lo of ſuch an occaſion, which would inevitably reſtore the King who would be equally ruin'd if the Prince went into *France* "of which he ſpoke with all the deteſtation imaginable; an ſaid, "he was ſo far ſatisfied in his Conſcience of the benef that would redound from the one, and the ruin which woul

inevitably fall out by the other, that, he ſaid, if the Perſon
with whom he held this Conference, would concur with
him, he would carry the Prince into *Ireland*, even without,
and againſt his conſent. The other Perſon anſwer'd, "that
it was not to be attempted without his conſent; nor could
he imagine it poſſible to bring it to paſs if they ſhould both
endeavour it. He replied, "that he would invite the Prince
on Board the Frigats to a Collation; and that he knew well
he could ſo commend the Veſſels to him, that his own curioſity
would eaſily invite him to a view of them; and that
aſſoon as he was on Board, he would cauſe the Sails to be
hoiſted up, and make no ſtay till he came into *Ireland*.

THE other was very angry with him for entertaining ſuch
naginations; and told him, "they neither agreed with his
Wiſdom nor his Duty; and left him in deſpair of his Con-
nction, and, at the ſame time, of being able to compaſs it.
Ie had no ſooner diſcharged himſelf of this imagination, but
the inſtant (as he had a moſt pregnant fancy) he enter-
in'd another with the ſame vigour; and reſolv'd, with all
oſſible expedition, to find himſelf at *Paris*, not making the
aſt Queſtion but that he ſhould convert the Queen from
ny farther thought of ſending for the Prince into *France*, and
eaſily obtain Her conſent and approbation for his repair-
g into *Ireland*; and he made as little doubt, with the
ueen's help, and by his own dexterity, to prevail with
rance to ſend a good ſupply of Money by him into *Ireland*;
which he ſhould acquire a moſt univerſal Reputation, and
the moſt welcome Man alive to the Lord Lieutenant: and
ranſported with this happy Auguration, he left *Jerſey*; leav-
g at the ſame time his two Ships, and his Soldiers, and half
dozen Gentlemen of Quality (who, upon his deſire, and
any promiſes, had kept him Company from *Ireland*) with-
it one penny of Money to ſubſiſt on during his abſence.

Thence he goes into France.

ASSOON as he came to *Paris*, and had ſeen the Queen
vhom he found very well inclin'd to do all ſhe could for the
lief of *Ireland*, but reſolute to have the Prince her Son im-
ediately with Her, notwithſtanding all the Reaſons preſs'd
ainſt it by the Lords of the King's Council, who had been
nt from *Jerſey*) He attended the Cardinal; who under-
ood him very well, and knew his Foible; and receiv'd him
ith all the Ceremony, and Demonſtration of Reſpect, he could
ſſibly expreſs; enter'd upon the diſcourſe of *England*; cele-
ated the part which he had Acted upon that Stage, in ſo many
ctions of Courage, and Sagacity, of the higheſt Prudence
d Circumſpection, with an indefatigable Induſtry and Fide-
y. He told him, "that *France* found too late their own Error;
that they had been very well content to ſee the King's
"great

His Tranſactions there with the Queen of England *and Cardinal* Mazarin.

“great Puiſſance weaken'd by his Domeſtick Troubles, which “they wiſh'd only ſhould keep him from being able to hurt “his Neighbours; but that they never had deſired to ſee him “at the Mercy of his own Rebels, which they ſaw now was “like to be the Caſe; and they were therefore reſolv'd to “Wed his Intereſt in ſuch a way and manner, as the Queen of “*England* ſhould deſire; in which he well knew how much her Majeſty would depend upon his Lordſhip's Counſel.

THE Cardinal ſaid, “it was abſolutely neceſſary, ſince the “Crown of *France* reſolv'd to Wed the King's Intereſt, “that the Perſon of the Prince of *Wales* ſhould reſide in “*France*; that the method he had thought of proceeding in, “was that the Queen of *England* ſhould make choice of ſuch “a Perſon, whom ſhe thought beſt Affected, and beſt Qualified “for ſuch an Employment, whom the King of *France* “would immediately ſend as his Extraordinary Embaſſadour “to the King and to the Parliament; that he ſhould govern “himſelf wholely by ſuch Inſtructions as the Queen ſhould “give him; which, he knew, would be his Lordſhip's work “to prepare; that all things ſhould be made ready aſſoon as “the Queen would nominate the Embaſſadour; and that, upon “the arrival of the Prince of *Wales* in any part of *France*, “aſſoon as notice ſhould be ſent to the Court of it (for which “due preparation ſhould be made) the Embaſſadour ſhould “be in the ſame manner diſpatched for *England*, with one “only Inſtruction from *France*; which ſhould be, That he “ſhould demand a ſpeedy Anſwer from the Parliament, whether “they would ſatisfy the demands the *French* Court had made; “which if they ſhould refuſe to do, he ſhould forthwith, in “the King his Maſter's name, declare War againſt them, and “immediately leave the Kingdom, and return Home; and “then there ſhould be quickly ſuch an Army ready, as was “worthy for the Prince of *Wales* to venture his own Perſon “in; and that he ſhould have the honour to Redeem and Reſtore “ſtore his Father.

THIS diſcourſe ended, the Lord *Digby* wanted not Language to extol the Generoſity and the Magnanimity of the reſolution, and to pay the Cardinal all his Compliments in hi own Coin, and, from thence, to enter upon the Condition o *Ireland*; in which the Cardinal preſently interrupted him, and told him, “he knew well he was come from thence, and “meant to return thither, and likewiſe the Carriage of th “Nuntio. That the Marquis of *Ormond* was too brave a Gentleman, “and had merited too much of his Maſter to be deſerted, “and *France* was reſolv'd not to do his buſineſs by halves, “but to give the King's Affairs an entire relief in all Places; “that he ſhould carry a good Supply of Money with him int

‘ *Ireland*, and that Armes and Ammunition ſhould be ſpeedily ‘ ſent after him, and ſuch direction to their Agent there, as ‘ ſhould draw off all the *Iriſh* from the Nuntio, who had not ‘ entirely given themſelves up to the *Spaniſh* Intereſt.

THE noble Perſon had that which he moſt deſired; he was preſently converted, and undertook to the Queen, that he would preſently convert all at *Jerſey*; and that the Prince ſhould obey all her Commands; and enter'd into conſultation with her upon the Election of an Embaſſadour, and what Inſtructions ſhould be given him; which he took upon himſelf to prepare. Monſieur *Bellievre* was named by the Queen, whom the Cardinal had deſign'd for that Office. The Cardinal approv'd the Inſtructions, and cauſed ſix thouſand Piſtols to be paid to him, who was to go to *Ireland*; and though it was a much leſs Sum than he had promiſed himſelf, from the magnificent Expreſſions the Cardinal had uſed to him, yet it provided well for his own occaſions; ſo he left the Queen with his uſual profeſſions, and confidence, and accompanied thoſe Lords to *Jerſey*, who were to attend upon his Highneſs with her Majeſty's Orders for the Prince's repair into *France*; for the Advancement whereof the Cardinal was ſo ſollicitous, that he writ a Letter to the old Prince of *Conde* (which he knew he would forthwith ſend to the Queen; as he did) in which he ſaid, “that he had receiv'd very certain Advertiſement out of *England*, that there were ſome Perſons about “ the Prince of *Wales* in *Jerſey*, who had undertaken to deliver his Highneſs up into the hands of the Parliament for “ twenty thouſand Piſtols; and this Letter was forthwith ſent by the Queen to overtake the Lords, that it might be ſhewed to the Prince; and that they who attended upon him, might diſcern, what would be thought of them, if they diſſwaded his Highneſs from giving a preſent obedience to his Mother's Commands.

ASSOON as they came to *Jerſey*, the Lord *Digby* uſed all the means he could to perſwade his Friend to concur in his advice for the Prince's immediate repair into *France*. He told him all that had paſſed between the Cardinal and him, not leaving out any of the Expreſſions of the high value his Eminence had of his particular Perſon: “That an Embaſſadour “ was choſen by his advice, and his Inſtructions drawn by “ him, from no part of which the Embaſſadour durſt ſwerve (and, which is very wonderful, he did really believe for that time, that he himſelf had nominated the Embaſſadour, and that his Inſtructions would be exactly obſerv'd by him; ſo great a Power he had always over himſelf, that he could believe any thing which was grateful to him) “That a War “ would be preſently proclaimed upon their refuſal to do what

“ the Embaſſadour required, and that there wanted nothing “ to the expediting this great Affair, but the Prince's repairing into *France* without farther delay; there being no other “ queſtion concerning that matter, than whether his Highneſs “ ſhould ſtay in *Jerſey*? where there could be no queſtion of “ his Security, until he could receive expreſs direction from “ the King his Father; and therefore he conjured his Friend “ to concur in that advice; which would be very grateful to “ the Queen, and be attended with much benefit to himſelf; telling him “ how kind her Majeſty was to him, and how “ confident ſhe was of his Service, and that if he ſhould be of “ another opinion, it would not hinder the Prince from going; who, he knew, was reſolv'd to obey his Mother; and ſo concluded his Diſcourſe, with thoſe Arguments which he thought were like to make moſt impreſſion on him; and gave him the Inſtructions by which the Embaſſadour was to be guided.

HIS Friend, who in truth lov'd him very heartily, though no Man better knew his Infirmities, told him, “ whatever “ the Prince would be diſpoſed to do, he could not change his “ opinion in point of Counſel, until the King's pleaſure might “ be known: he put him in mind, “ how he had been before “ deceiv'd at *Oxford* by the *Conte de Harcourt*, who was an “ Embaſſadour likewiſe, as We then thought, named by our “ ſelves, and whoſe Inſtructions he had likewiſe drawn; and “ yet, he could not but well remember how foully that buſineſs had been managed, and how diſobligingly He himſelf “ had been treated by that Embaſſadour; and therefore he “ could not but wonder, that the ſame Artifices ſhould again “ prevail with him; and that he could imagine that the Inſtructions he had drawn, would be at all conſider'd, or purſued, “ farther than they might contribute to what the Cardinal for “ the preſent deſign'd; of the integrity whereof, they had no “ Evidence, but had reaſon enough to ſuſpect it.

THE Lord *Capel*, and the Lord *Colepepper*, ſtayed at *Paris* with the Queen full three Weeks; having only prevailed with her to ſuſpend her preſent Commands for the Prince's remove from *Jerſey*, until ſhe ſhould have clear Intelligence where the King was, and how he was treated, though ſhe declared a poſitive reſolution that his Highneſs ſhould come to *Paris*, let the Intelligence be what it could be; and, in the end, they were well aſſured that his Majeſty had put himſelf into the *Scotiſh* Army as it lay before *Newark*; and that, aſſoon as he came thither, he had cauſed that Garriſon to deliver the Town into the hands of the *Scots*; and that thereupon the *Scots* marched preſently away to *New-Caſtle*: That they had preſs'd the King to do many things, which he had abſolutely

refuſed

uſed to do ; and that thereupon they had put very ſtrict
uards upon his Majeſty, and would not permit any Man to
pair to him, or to ſpeak with him ; ſo that his Majeſty
ok'd upon himſelf as a Priſoner, and reſolv'd to make an-
her Eſcape from them aſſoon as he could. Mr *Aſhburnham*,
ho attended upon him in his Journey from *Oxford* as his ſole
rvant, was forbid to come any more near him ; and if he
d not put himſelf on board a Veſſel, then at *New-Caſtle*,
d bound for *France*, the *Scots* would have deliver'd him up
the Parliament. Monſieur *Montrevil*, the *French* Envoy,
etended that they were ſo incenſed againſt him for briskly
poſtulating with them for their ill Treatment of the King,
at it was no longer ſafe for him to remain in their Quarters,
d more dangerous to return to *London* ; and therefore, he
d likewiſe procured a *Dutch* Ship to land him in *France*,
d was come to *Paris* before the Lords return'd to *Jerſey*.

THE Queen thought now ſhe had more reaſon to be con-
m'd in her former reſolution for the ſpeedy remove of the
rince, and it was pretended that he had brought a Letter
om the King, which was Decipher'd by the Lord *Jermyn* ;
which, he ſaid, " that he did believe that the Prince could
not be ſafe any where but with the Queen ; and therefore
wiſhed, that if he were not there already, he ſhould be
ſpeedily ſent for ; and *Montrevil* profeſſed to have a Meſſage
word of mouth to the ſame purpoſe ; whereas Mr *Aſhburn-*
m, who left the King but the day before *Montrevil*, and was
entirely truſted by the King as any Man in *England*, brought
ſuch Meſſage ; and confeſs'd to the Lord *Capel*, " that he
thought it very pernicious to the King that the Prince ſhould
come into *France* in that conjuncture, and before it was
known how the *Scots* would deal with him ; and that the
King's opinion of the convenience of his coming into *France*,
could proceed from nothing but the thought of his inſecu-
rity in *Jerſey*. The Lord *Capel* offer'd to undertake a Jour-
ey himſelf to *New-Caſtle*, and to receive the King's poſitive
ommands, which he was confident would be ſubmitted to,
nd obeyed by all the Council as well as by himſelf ; but the
ueen was poſitive, that, without any more delay, the Prince
hould immediately repair to Her ; and, to that purpoſe, She
nt the Lord *Jermyn* (who was Governour of *Jerſey*) toge-
her with the Lord *Digby*, the Lord *Wentworth*, the Lord *Wil-*
ot, and the other Lords and Gentlemen, who, with the two
ords who had been ſent to her by the Prince, ſhould make
aſt to *Jerſey* to ſee her Commands executed. Whilſt they
re upon their Journey thither, it will be ſeaſonable to en-
uire how the King came to involve himſelf in that perplexity,
ut of which he was never able afterwards to recover his Li-
erty and Freedom.

MON-

A farther Account of Monſieur Montrevil *his Negotiation with the* Scots.

MONSIEUR *Montrevil* was a Perſon utterly unknown t me, nor had I ever intercourſe or correſpondence with him ſo that what I ſhall ſay of him cannot proceed from affectio or prejudice, nor if I ſhall ſay any thing for his vindicatio from thoſe reproaches which he did, and does lie under, bot with the *Engliſh* and *Scotiſh* Nation, countenanced enough b the diſcountenance he receiv'd from the Cardinal after his return, when he was, after the firſt account he had given o his Negotiation, reſtrain'd from coming to the Court, and forbid to remain in *Paris*, and lay under a form'd, declar'd diſlike till his death ; which with grief of mind ſhortly enſued But as it is no unuſual hard-heartedneſs in ſuch chief Miniſters, to ſacrifice ſuch Inſtruments, how innocent ſoever, t their own dark purpoſes, ſo it is probable, that temporar Cloud would ſoon have vaniſhed, and that it was only caſ over him, that he might be thereby ſecluded from the converſation of the *Engliſh* Court ; which muſt have been reaſonably very inquiſitive, and might thereby have diſcover' ſomewhat which the other Court was carefully to conceal : I ſay if what I here ſet down of that Tranſaction, ſhall appea ſome vindication of that Gentleman from thoſe imputation under which his memory remains blaſted, it can be impute only to the love of truth, which ought, in common honeſty to be preſerv'd in Hiſtory as the very Soul of it, towards a Perſons who come to be mention'd in it ; and ſince I have i my hands all the original Letters which paſſed from him t the King, and the King's Anſwers and Directions thereupon or ſuch Authentick Copies thereof, as have been by my ſel examin'd with the Originals, I take it to be a duty incumben on me to clear him from any guilt with which his memor lies unjuſtly charged, and to make a candid interpretation o thoſe Actions, which appear to have reſulted from ingenuity and upright Intentions, how unſucceſsful ſoever.

HE was then a young Gentleman of parts very equal to the Truſt the Cardinal repoſed in him, and to the Imploymen he gave him ; and of a Nature not inclined to be made uſe of in ordinary diſſimulation and couzenage. Whilſt he took his Meaſures only from the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners at *London*, and from thoſe Presbyterians whom he had opportunity t converſe with there, he did not give the King the leaſt Encouragement to expect a conjunction, or any complyance from the one or the other, upon any Cheaper price of condition than the whole alteration of the Government of the Church by Biſhops, and an entire Conformity to the Covenant ; and he uſed all the Arguments which occurr'd to him, to perſwade his Majeſty that all other hopes of Agreement with them were deſperate ; and when he ſaw his Majeſty unmovable in that particular, and reſolute to undergo the utmoſt event of War, before he would wound his Peace of Mind, and Conſcience, with ſuch an odious conceſſion, he undertook that Journey we mention'd in the end of the laſt Year, to diſcover whether the ſame rude and rigid Spirit, which Govern'd thoſe Commiſſioners at *Weſtminſter*, poſſeſſed alſo the Chief Officers of the *Scotiſh* Army, and that Committee of State that always remain'd with the Army.

THE *Scotiſh* Army was then before *Newark*; and, in his paſſage thither, he waited upon the King at *Oxford*; and was confirm'd in what he had reaſon before to be confident of, that it was abſolutely impoſſible ever to prevail with his Majeſty to give up the Church to the moſt impetuous Demands they could make, or to the greateſt neceſſity himſelf could be environ'd with; but as to any other conceſſions which might ſatisfy their Ambition or their Profit, which were always Powerful and Irreſiſtible Spells upon that Party, he had ample Authority and Commiſſion to comply with the moſt extravagant Demands from Perſons like to make good what they undertook, except ſuch Propoſitions as might be miſchievous to the Marquis of *Mountroſe*; whom the King reſolv'd never to deſert, nor any who had joyn'd with and aſſiſted him; all which, he deſir'd to unite to thoſe who might now be perſwaded to ſerve him. His Majeſty, for his better information, recommended him to ſome Perſons who had then Command in the *Scotiſh* Army; of whoſe Affections and Inclinations to his Service, he had as much confidence, at leaſt, as he ought to have; and of their Credit, and Courage, and Intereſt, a greater than was due to them.

WHEN *Montrevil* came to the Army, and after he had endeavour'd to undeceive thoſe who had been perſwaded to believe, that a peremptory and obſtinate inſiſting upon the alteration of the Church Government (the expectation, and aſſurance whereof, had indeed firſt enabled them to make that Expedition) would at laſt prevail over the King's Spirit, as it had done in *Scotland*, he found thoſe in whom the Power, at leaſt the Command of the Army was, much more moderate than he expected, and the Committee which preſided in the Counſels, rather deviſing and projecting Expedients how they might recede from the rigour of their former Demands, than peremptory to adhere to them, and willing he ſhould believe that they ſtay'd for the coming of the Lord Chancellor out of *Scotland*, who was daily expected, before they would declare their Reſolution; not that they were, for the preſent, without one. They were very much pleaſed that the King offer'd, and deſir'd to come to them, and remain in the Army with them, if he might be ſecured of a good reception for Himſelf, and for his Servants who ſhould attend him, and his Friends who ſhould reſort to him; and the principal Officers of the Army ſpoke of that, as a thing they ſo much wiſhed, that it could be in no body's Power to hinder it, if there were any who would attempt it; and they who had the greateſt Power in the Conduct of the moſt ſecret Counſels, took pains to be thought to have much franker Reſolutions in that particular, than they thought yet ſeaſonable to expreſs in direct Undertakings; and imployed thoſe who were known to be moſt entirely truſted by them, and ſome of thoſe who had been recommended to him by the King, to aſſure him that he might confidently adviſe his Majeſte to repair to the Army, upon the Terms himſelf had propos'd; and that they would ſend a good Body of their Horſe, to meet his Majeſty at any place he ſhould appoint to Conduct him in Safety to them. Upon which encouragement *Montrevil* prepared a Paper to be ſign'd by himſelf, and ſent to the King as his Engagement; and ſhew'd it to thoſe who had been moſt clear to him in their Expreſſions of duty to the King; which, being approv'd by them, he ſent by the other who had appear'd to him to be truſted by thoſe who were in the higheſt Truſt to be communicated to them, who had in a manner excuſed themſelves for being ſo reſerv'd towards him, as being neceſſary in that conjuncture of their Affairs, when there evidently appear'd to be the moſt Hoſtile jealouſy between the Independent Army and them. When the Paper was likewiſe return'd to him with approbation after their peruſal, he ſent it to the King; which Paper is here faithfully Tranſlated out of the Original.

The Paper Montrevil *ſent to the King, being a promiſe for the* Scots *receiving the King A-pril 1.*

"I DO promiſe in the Name of the King and Queen Regent (my Maſter and Miſtriſs) and by virtue of the Powers "that I have from their Majeſties, That if the King of Great "Britain ſhall put himſelf into the *Scotiſh* Army, he ſhall be "there receiv'd as their Natural Soveraign; and that he ſhall "be with them in all freedom of his Conſcience and Honour; "and that all ſuch of his Subjects and Servants as ſhall be "there with him, ſhall be ſafely and honourably protected in "their Perſons; and that the ſaid *Scots*, ſhall really and effectually joyn with the ſaid King of Great Britain, and alſo "receive all ſuch Perſons as ſhall come in unto him, and joyn "with them for his Majeſty's Preſervation: And that they "ſhall protect all his Majeſty's Party to the utmoſt of their "Power, as his Majeſty will Command all thoſe under his "obedience to do the like to them; and that they ſhall employ all their Armies and Forces, to aſſiſt his Majeſty in the "procuring of a happy and well grounded Peace, for the good

"of his Majeſty and his ſaid Kingdoms, and in recovery of
"his Majeſty's juſt Rights. In witneſs whereof I have here-
"unto put my Hand and Seal this firſt of *April* 1646.

De Montrevil, Reſident pour ſa Majeſtie tres Chretienne en Ecoſſe.

MANY days had not paſſed after the ſending that Expreſs, when he found ſuch Chagrin, and Tergiverſation, in ſome of thoſe he had treated with, one Man denying what he had ſaid to himſelf, and another diſclaiming the having given ſuch a Man Authority to ſay that from him which the other ſtill avow'd he had done, that *Montrevil* thought himſelf obliged, with all ſpeed, to advertiſe his Majeſty of the foul change, and to diſſwade him from venturing his Perſon in the Power of ſuch Men; but the Expreſs who carried that Letter, was taken Priſoner; and though he made his Eſcape, and preſerv'd his Letter, he could not proceed in his Journey; and was compell'd to return to him who ſent him; and by that time, he having inform'd the Committee, what he had done to vindicate himſelf from being made a Property by them to betray the King, and expreſſed a deep reſentment of the injury done to the King his Maſter, and to himſelf, in their receding from what they had promiſed, they appear'd again to be of another Temper, and very much to deſire his Majeſty's Preſence in the Army; and to that purpoſe, they promiſed, as an unanimous Reſolution, "that they would ſend a conſiderable party "of Horſe to meet his Majeſty at *Burton* upon *Trent*; for that "they could not advance farther with the whole party; but "that ſome Horſe ſhould be ſent to wait upon his Majeſty at "*Boſworth*, which is the middle way between *Burton* and "*Harborough*, whither they hoped his own Horſe would be "able to convey him ſecurely; they deſired "the King to "appoint the day, and they would not fail to be there. They wiſhed, "that when their Troops ſhould meet his Majeſty, "he would tell them that he was going into *Scotland*; upon "which, they would find themſelves obliged to attend him "into their Army, without being able to diſcover any thing "of a Treaty; of which, the Parliament ought yet to receive "no Advertiſement: of all which *Montrevil* gave the King a very full and plain Narration, together with what he had written before, by his Letter of the 15th of the ſame *April*, to Secretary *Nicholas*; and, in the ſame Letter, he inform'd his Majeſty, "that they did not deſire that any of thoſe Forces "which had follow'd the King's Party, ſhould joyn with "them, no nor ſo much as thoſe Horſe that ſhould have accompani'd his Majeſty, ſhould remain in their Army with "him: That they had with much ado agreed, that the two "Princes (for his Majeſty, upon Prince *Rupert*'s humble ſubmiſſion, was reconciled to both his Nephews) “ might follow “ the King, with ſuch other of his Servants as were not ex- “ cepted from pardon; and that they might ſtay with his Ma- “ jeſty until the Parliament of ***Egland*** ſhould demand them; “ in which caſe they ſhould not refuſe to deliver them; but “ that they would firſt furniſh them with ſome means of get- “ ting beyond Seas.

THE King had propos'd, “ that there might be a Union “ between them and the Marquis of ***Mountroſe***; and that his “ Forces might be joyn'd with their Army; which they had ſaid, “ they could not conſent to, with reference to the per- “ ſon of ***Mountroſe***; who, after ſo much blood ſpilt by him o “ many of the greateſt Families, they thought could not b “ ſafe among them: whereupon the King had declared, tha “ he would ſend him his Extraordinary Embaſſadour int “ ***France***; which they appear'd not to contradict, but had now “ changed their mind; of which ***Montrevil*** likewiſe gave a “ Account in the ſame Letter: That they could not give thei “ conſent that the Marquis of ***Mountroſe*** ſhould go Embaſſa- “ dour into ***France***, but into any other place, he might; an “ that they again, without limiting the time, inſiſted upo “ ſettling the Presbyterian Government; and he conclude his Letter with theſe words, “ I will ſay no more but this “ that his Majeſty and You know the ***Scots*** better than I do “ I repreſent theſe things nakedly to you, as I am obliged t “ do; I have not taken upon me the boldneſs to give an “ Counſel to his Majeſty; yet if he hath any other refuge, o “ means to make better conditions, I think he ought not t “ accept of theſe; but if he ſees all things deſperate ever “ where elſe, and that he and his Servants cannot be ſecur “ with his Parliament of ***England***, I dare yet aſſure him, tha “ though He and his Servants may not be here with all tha “ ſatisfaction perhaps which he might deſire, yet He eſpeciall “ ſhall be as ſecure as poſſible.

IN another Letter dated the next day after (the 16th c ***April***) to the ſame Secretary, he hath theſe words; “ I hav “ Orders from the Deputies of ***Scotland*** to aſſure you, that the “ will not herein fail (which related to ſending the Horſe t meet his Majeſty) “ aſſoon as they ſhall know his day; an “ that the King ſhall be receiv'd into the Army as hath bee “ promiſed; and that his Conſcience ſhall not be forced. An in the laſt Letter, which his Majeſty or the Secretary receiv' from him, and which was dated the 20th of ***April*** 1646, ther are theſe words, “ They tell me that they will do more tha “ can be expreſſed; but let not his Majeſty hope for any mor “ than I ſend him word of; that he may not be deceiv'd; an “ let him take his meaſures aright; for certainly the Ente "priſe is full of danger: yet, in the ſame Letter, he ſays "the diſpoſition of the Chiefs of the *Scotiſh* Army is ſuch as "the King can deſire; they begin to draw off their Troops "towards *Burton*, and the hindering his Majeſty from falling "into the hands of the *Engliſh* is of ſo great Importance to "them, that it cannot be believ'd but that they will do all "that lies in their Power to hinder it.

THIS was the proceeding of Monſieur *Montrevil* in that whole Tranſaction; and if he were too Sanguine upon his firſt Converſation with the Officers of the *Scotiſh* Army, and ſome of the Committee, and when he ſign'd that Engagement upon the firſt of *April*, he made haſt to retract that confidence, and was in all his Diſpatches afterwards Phlegmatick enough; and, after his Majeſty had put himſelf into their hands, he did honeſtly and ſtoutly charge all the particular Perſons with the Promiſes and Engagements they had given to him, and did all he could to make the Cardinal ſenſible of the Indignity that was offer'd to that Crown in the violation of thoſe Promiſes, and Engagements; which was the reaſon of his being Commanded to return Home, aſſoon as the King came to *New-Caſtle*; leſt his too keen reſentment might irritate the *Scots*, and make it appear to the Parliament how far *France* was engaged in that whole Negotiation; which the Cardinal had no mind ſhould appear to the World; and there can be no doubt, but that the Cautions and Animadverſions which the King receiv'd from *Montrevil* after his Engagement, would have diverted him from that Enterpriſe, if his Majeſty had diſcern'd any other courſe to take that had been preferable even to the hazard that he ſaw he muſt undergo with the *Scots*; but he was clearly deſtitute of any other Refuge. Every day brought the News of the loſs of ſome Garriſon; and as *Oxford* was already blocked up at a diſtance, by thoſe Horſe which *Fairfax* had ſent out of the Weſt to that purpoſe, or to wait upon the King, and follow him cloſe, if he ſhould remove out of *Oxford*; ſo he had ſoon reduced *Exeter*, and ſome other Garriſons in *Devon-ſhire*. The Governours then, when there was no viſible and apparent hope of being Reliev'd, thought that they might deliver up their Garriſons before they were preſſed with the laſt Extremities, that they might obtain the better Conditions; and yet it was obſerv'd that better and more honourable Conditions were not given to any, than to thoſe who kept the Places they were truſted with, till they had not one day's Victual left; of which We ſhall obſerve more hereafter. By this means *Fairfax* was within three days of *Oxford* before the King left it, or fully reſolv'd what to do.

HIS Majeſty had before ſent to two Eminent Commanders of Name, who had block'd up the Town at a diſtance, "that "if they would paſs their words (how ſlender a ſecurity ſoever, from ſuch Men who had broken ſo many Oaths, for the Safety of the King) "that they would immediately Con-"duct him to the Parliament, he would have put himſelf in-"to their hands; for he was yet perſwaded to think ſo well of the City of *London*, that he would not have been unwilling to have found himſelf there; but thoſe Officers would ſubmit to no ſuch Engagements; and great care was taken to have ſtrict Guards round about *London*, that he might not get thither. What ſhould the King do? There was one thing moſt formidable to him, which he was reſolv'd to avoid, that was, to be incloſed in *Oxford*, and ſo to be given up, or taken, when the Town ſhould be Surrender'd, as a Priſoner to the Independents Army; which he was advertiſed from all hands, would treat him very Barbarouſly.

In this perplexity, he choſe rather to commit himſelf to the *Scotiſh* Army; which yet he did not truſt ſo far as to give them notice of his Journey, by ſending for a Party of their Horſe to meet him, as they had profer'd; but early in the Morning, upon the 27th day of *April*, he went out of *Oxford*, attended only by *John Aſhburnham*, and a Divine (one *Hudſon*) who underſtood the By-ways as well as the Common, and was indeed a very skilful Guide. In this Equipage he left *Oxford* on a *Monday*, leaving thoſe of his Council in *Oxford* who were privy to his going out, not inform'd whether he would go to the *Scotiſh* Army, or get privately into *London*, and lye there concealed, till he might chooſe that which was beſt; and it was generally believ'd, that he had not within himſelf at that time a fixt Reſolution what he would do; which was the more Credited becauſe it was nine days after his leaving *Oxford*, before it was known where the King was; inſomuch as *Fairfax*, who came before it the fifth day after his Majeſty was gone, was ſate down, and had made his Circumvallation about *Oxford*, before he knew that the King was in the *Scotiſh* Army; but the King had waſted that time in ſeveral Places; whereof ſome were Gentlemens Houſes (where he was not unknown, though untaken notice of) purpoſely to be inform'd of the condition of the Marquis of *Mountroſe*, and to find ſome ſecure paſſage that he might get to him; which he did exceedingly deſire; but in the end, went into the *Scotiſh* Army before *Newark*, and ſent for *Montrevil* to come to him.

he King eaves Ox-
ord Apr.
7. 1646.

uts himſelf nto the cotiſh *Ar-y before* ewark.

It was very early in the Morning when the King went to the General's Lodging, and diſcover'd himſelf to him; who either was, or ſeem'd to be, exceedingly ſurpriſed, and confounded at his Majeſty's preſence; and knew not what to ſay; but preſently gave notice of it to the Committee, who were no leſs perplexed. An Expreſs was preſently ſent to the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, to inform them of the unexpected News, as a thing the *Scots* had not the leaſt imagination of. The Parliament were ſo diſorder'd with the Intelligence, that at firſt they reſolv'd to Command their General to raiſe the Siege before *Oxford*, and to march with all Expedition to *Newark*; but the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners at *London*, diverted them from that, by aſſuring them "that all their Orders would "meet with an abſolute Obedience in their Army; ſo they made a ſhort diſpatch to them, in which it was evident that they believ'd the King had gone to them by Invitation, and not out of his own free Choice; and implying, "that they "ſhould ſhortly receive farther direction from them; and in the mean time, "that they ſhould carefully watch that his "Majeſty did not diſpoſe himſelf to ſome whither elſe. The great care in the Army, was, that there might be only reſpect and good manners ſhew'd towards the King, without any thing of affection or dependence; and therefore the General never asked the Word of him, or any Orders, nor, willingly, ſuffer'd the Officers of the Army to reſort to, or to have any diſcourſe with his Majeſty. *Montrevil* was ill look'd upon, as the Man who had brought this inconvenience upon them without their conſent; but he was not frighted from owning and declaring what had paſſed between them, what they had promiſed, and what they were engaged to do. However, though the King liked not the treatment he receiv'd, he was not without apprehenſion, that *Fairfax* might be forthwith appointed to decline all other Enterpriſes, and to bring himſelf near the *Scotiſh* Army, they being too near together already; and therefore he forthwith gave order to the Lord *Belaſis* to Surrender *Newark*, that the *Scots* might march Northward; which they reſolv'd to do; and he giving up that place, which he could have defended for ſome Months longer from that Enemy, upon honourable Conditions, that Army with great Expedition marched towards *New-Caſtle*; which the King was glad of, though their behaviour to him was ſtill the ſame; and great ſtrictneſs uſed that he might not confer with any Man who was not well known to them, much leſs receive Letters from any.

Their manner of treating his Majeſty.

*The King or*ders New*ark to be ſurrender'd whereupon the* Scot*iſh Army marches Northward with the King to* New-Caſt

IT was an obſervation in that time, that the firſt publiſhing of extraordinary News was from the Pulpit; and by the Preacher's Text, and his manner of diſcourſe upon it, the Auditors might judge, and commonly foreſaw, what was like to be next done in the Parliament or Council of State. The firſt Sermon that was Preach'd before the King, after the Army roſe from *Newark* to march Northwards, was upon the 19th. *Chap*. of the II. Book of *Samuel*, the 41, 42, and 43. *verſes*.

41. *And behold, all the Men of Iſrael came to the King, and ſaid unto the King, Why have our Brethren the Men of Judah ſtolen thee away, and have brought the King and his Houſehold, and all David's Men with him over Jordan?*

42. *And all the Men of Judah anſwered the Men of Iſrael, Becauſe the King is near of kin to us: wherefore then be ye angry for this matter? have we eaten at all of the King's coſt? or hath he given us any gift?*

43. *And the Men of Iſrael anſwered the Men of Judah, and ſaid, We have ten parts in the King, and we have alſo more right in David than ye: why then did ye deſpiſe us that our advice ſhould not be firſt had in bringing back our King? And the words of the Men of Judah were fiercer than the words of the Men of Iſrael.*

here Mon-
revil was
ſtrained
om him.

UPON which words, the Preacher gave Men cauſe to believe, that now they had gotten their King they reſolv'd to keep him, and to adhere to him. But his Majeſty came no ſooner to *New-Caſtle*, than both Monſieur *Montrevil* was reſtrain'd from having any conference with him, and Mr *Aſhburnham* was adviſed "to ſhift for himſelf, or elſe that he "ſhould be deliver'd up to the Parliament; and both the one, and the other, were come to *Paris* when the Queen ſent thoſe Lords to haſten the Prince's remove from *Jerſey*

he Lord
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her Lords
rive at
rſey, *about*
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une, *from*
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WHEN thoſe Lords, with their great Train, came to *Jerſey*, which was towards the end of *June*, they brought with them a Letter from the Queen to the Prince; in which ſhe told him, "that ſhe was now fully ſatisfied, from the Intelligence "ſhe had from *New-Caſtle* and *London*, that he could not make "any longer reſidence in *Jerſey* without apparent danger of "falling into the Enemies hands; and that if he ſhould continue there, all poſſible attempts would be ſuddainly made, "as well by Treachery as by Force, to get his Perſon into their "Power; and therefore, her Majeſty did poſitively require "him, to give immediate Obedience to the King's Commands, "mention'd in the Letter which he had lately ſent by Sr *Dudley Wyat* (which is ſet out before) "and reiterated in a Letter which ſhe had ſince receiv'd from the King by Monſieur *Montrevil*. Her Majeſty ſaid, "that ſhe had the greateſt aſſurance from the Crown of *France*, that poſſibly could "be given, for his honourable reception, and full liberty to "continue there, and to depart from thence, at his pleaſure; "and ſhe engaged her own word, that whenever his Council ſhould find it fit for him to go out of *France*, ſhe would "never oppoſe it; and that during his reſidence in that Kingdom, all matters of Importance which might concern him-

“ ſelf, or relate to his Majeſty's Affairs, ſhould be debated and “ reſolv'd by himſelf and the Council, in ſuch manner as they “ ought to have been, if he had continued in **England**, or in “ *Jerſey*: and concluded, “ that he ſhould make all poſſible “ haſt to her.

THE Lords which arriv'd with this diſpatch from her Majeſty, had no imagination that there would have been any queſtion of his Highneſs's complyance with the Queen's Command; and therefore, aſſoon as they had kiſs'd the Prince's hand, which was in the Afternoon, they deſired that the Council might preſently be called; and when they came together, the Lords *Jermyn*, **Digby**, and **Wentworth**, being likewiſe preſent, and ſitting in the Council, they deſired the Prince “ that his Mother's Letter might be read; and then, ſince “ they conceiv'd there could be no debate upon his Highneſs's yielding Obedience to the Command of the King and “ Queen, that they might only conſider of the day when he “ might begin his Journey, and of the order he would obſerve “ in it. The Lords of the Council repreſented to the Prince, “ that they were the only Perſons that were accountable to ‘ the King, and to the Kingdom, for any reſolution his High‘neſs ſhould take, and for the Conſequence thereof; and that ‘ the other Lords who were preſent, had no Title to deliver ‘ their advice, or to be preſent at the debate, they being in ‘ no degree reſponſible for what his Highneſs ſhould reſolve ‘ to do; and therefore deſired that the whole matter might be ‘ debated; the State of the King's preſent Condition under‘ſtood as far as it might be; and the Reaſons conſider'd ‘ which made it Counſellable for his Highneſs to repair into ‘ **France**, and what might be ſaid againſt it; and the rather, ‘ becauſe it was very notorious that the King had given no po‘ſitive direction in the Point, but upon a Suppoſition that ‘ the Prince could not remain ſecure in *Jerſey*; which was ‘ likewiſe the ground of the Queen's laſt Command; and which ‘ they believ'd had no Foundation of Reaſon; and that his ‘ Reſidence there might be very unqueſtionably ſafe. This egot ſome warmth, and contradiction between Perſons; inomuch as the Prince thought it very neceſſary to ſuſpend the ebate till the next day, to the end that by ſeveral and priate Conferences together between the Lords who came from 'aris, and thoſe who were in *Jerſey*, they might convert, or onfirm each other in the ſame opinions; at leaſt that the ext debate might be free from Paſſion and Unkindneſs; and) the Council roſe, and the ſeveral Lords betook themſelves) uſe the ſame Arguments, or ſuch as they thought more greeable to the ſeveral Perſons, as the Lord **Digby** had beore done to his Friend, and with the ſame ſucceſs.

Debates in the Prince's Council concerning his going.

The Lord Capel delivers his opinion against it.

THE next day when they were called together, the Lor
Capel gave an account of all that had paſs'd with the Quee
from the time that the Lord *Colepepper* and he came thither
and “that the reaſons they had carried from the Prince, ha
“ſo far prevailed with the Queen, that her Majeſty reſolv'
“to take no final reſolution till ſhe receiv'd farther Adver-
“tiſement of the King's pleaſure; and he did not think tha
“the information ſhe had receiv'd from Monſieur *Montrevil*
“had weight enough to produce the quick reſolution it ha
“done: that he thought it ſtill moſt abſolutely neceſſary, t
“receive the King's poſitive Command before the Princ
“ſhould remove out of his Majeſty's own Dominions; ther
“being no ſhadow of cauſe to ſuſpect his ſecurity there: Tha
“he had then offer'd to the Queen, that he would himſel
“make a Journey to *New-Caſtle* to receive his Majeſty
“Commands; and that he now made the ſame offer to th
“Prince; and becauſe it did appear that his Majeſty was ver
“ſtrictly guarded, and that Perſons did not eaſily find acce
“to him, and that his own Perſon might be ſeiſed upon i
“his Journey thither, or his ſtay there, or his return bac
“and ſo his Highneſs might be diſappointed of the informa-
“tion he expected, and remain ſtill in the ſame uncertaint
“as to a reſolution, he did propoſe, and conſent to, as h
“opinion, that if he did not return again to *Jerſey* within th
“ſpace of one Month, the Prince ſhould reſolve to remov
“into *France*, if in the mean time ſuch preparatories we
“made there, as he thought were neceſſary, and were y
“defective.

HE ſaid, “he had been lately at *Paris* by the Prince
“Command; and had receiv'd many Graces from the Quee
“who had vouchſafed to impart all her own Reaſons for t
“Prince's remove, and the grounds for the confidence ſ
“had of the Affections of *France*; but, that he did ſtill wo
“der, if the Court of *France* had ſo great a deſire, as w
“pretended, that the Prince of *Wales* ſhould repair thithe
“that in the two Months time his Highneſs had been in *Je*
“*ſey*, they had never ſent a Gentleman to ſee him, and to i
“vite him to come thither; nor had theſe who came no
“from the Queen, brought ſo much as a Paſs for him to co
“into *France*: That he could not but obſerve, that all We h
“hitherto propoſed to our ſelves from *France*, had proved
“no degree anſwerable to our expectations; as the five tho
“ſand Foot, which We had expected in the Weſt before t
“Prince came from thence; and that We had more reaſon
“be jealous now than ever, ſince it had been by the advi
“of *France*, that the King had now put himſelf into the ha
“of the *Scots*; and therefore We ought to be the more wat

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"ful in the diſpoſing the Perſon of the Prince by their advice likewiſe. He concluded, "that he could not give his advice, or conſent, that the Prince ſhould repair into *France*, till the King's pleaſure might be known, or ſuch other circumſtances might be provided in *France*, as had been hitherto neglected.

The Arguments of the Lord Digby *and Lord* Jermyn *for it.*

THE Lord *Digby* and the Lord *Jermyn* wonder'd very much, "that there ſhould be any doubt of the Affections of *France*, or that it ſhould be believ'd that the Queen could be deceiv'd, or not well enough inform'd in that particular: They related many particulars which had paſſed between the Cardinal and them in private Conferences, and the great profeſſions of Affection he made to the King. They ſaid, "that the Embaſſadour who was now appointed to go thither, was choſen by the Queen her ſelf, and had no other Inſtructions but what ſhe had given him; and that he was not to ſtay there above a Month; at the end of which he was to denounce War againſt the Parliament, if they did not comply with ſuch Propoſitions as he made; and ſo to return; and then, that there ſhould be an Army of thirty thouſand Men immediately Tranſported into *England*, with the Prince of *Wales* in the head of them; that the Embaſſadour was already gone from *Paris*, but was not to Embark till he ſhould firſt receive Advertiſement that the Prince of *Wales* was Landed in *France*; for that *France* had no reaſon to intereſt themſelves ſo far in the King's Quarrel, if the Prince of *Wales* ſhould refuſe to venture his Perſon with them; or, it may be, engage againſt them upon another Intereſt

THEY therefore beſought the Prince, and the Lords "that they would conſider well, whether he would diſappoint his Father and Himſelf of ſo great Fruit as they were even ready to Gather, and of which they could not be diſappointed but by unſeaſonable Jealouſies of the Integrity of *France*, and by delaying to give them ſatisfaction in the remove of the Prince from *Jerſey*.

THESE Arguments preſs'd with all the aſſurance imaginable, by Perſons of that near Truſt and Confidence with the King, who were not like to be deceiv'd Themſelves, nor to have any purpoſe to deceive the Prince, wrought ſo far with his Highneſs, that he declared "he would comply with the Commands of the Queen, and forthwith remove into *France*; which being reſolv'd, he wiſhed "there might be no more debate upon that point, but that they would all prepare to go with him, and that there might be as great an Unity in their Councels, as had hitherto always been.

The Prince reſolves to go into France.

THIS ſo poſitive Declaration of the Prince of his own Reſolution, made all farther Arguments againſt it not only uſeleſs but indecent; and therefore they replied not to that Point, yet every Man of the Council, the Lord *Colepepper* only excepted, beſought his Highneſs "that he would give them his "Pardon, if they did not farther wait upon him; for they "conceiv'd their Commiſſion to be now at an end; and that "they could not aſſume any Authority by it to themſelves, if "they waited upon him into *France*; nor expect that their "Counſels there ſhould be hearken'd unto, when they were "now rejected. And ſo, after ſome ſharp replies between the Lords of different Judgements, which made the Council break up the ſooner, they who reſolv'd not to go into *France* took their leaves of the Prince, and kiſs'd his hand; his Highneſs then declaring, "that he would be gone the next day by five "of the Clock in the Morning, though the croſs Winds, and want of ſome Proviſions which were neceſſary for the Journey detained him there four or five days longer; during which time, the Diſſenting Lords every day waited upon him, and were receiv'd by him very Graciouſly; his Highneſs well knowing and expreſſing to them a confidence in their Affections, and that they would be ſure to wait upon him, whenever his occaſions ſhould be ready for their Service. But between them and the other Lords, there grew by degrees ſo great a ſtrangeneſs, that, the laſt day, they did not ſo much as ſpeak to each other; they who came from the Queen taking it very ill, that the others had preſumed to diſſent from wha her Majeſty had ſo poſitively Commanded. And though they neither loved their Perſons, nor cared for their Company, and without doubt, if they had gone into *France*, would have made them quickly weary of theirs; yet, in that Conjuncture, they believ'd that the Diſſent and Separation of all thoſe Perſon who were truſted by the King with the Perſon of the Prince would blaſt their Counſel, and weigh down the ſingle poſitive Determination of the Queen her ſelf.

All but one of his Council diſſent, and ſtay behind.

On the other ſide, the others did not think they were treated in that manner as was due to Perſons ſo entruſted; bu that in truth many ill Conſequences would reſult from tha ſuddain departure of the Prince out of the King's Dominions where his reſidence might have been ſecure in reſpect of th Affairs of *England*; where, beſides the Garriſons of *Silly* an *Pendennis* (which might always be reliev'd by Sea) there re main'd ſtill within his Majeſty's Obedience, *Oxford*, *Worceſter* *Wallingford*, *Ludlow*, and ſome other places of leſs name which, upon any diviſions among themſelves, that were natu rally to be expected, might have turn'd the Scale: Nor di they know, of what ill Conſequence it might be to the Kin that in ſuch a Conjuncture the Prince ſhould be remov'd, whe it might be more Counſellable that he ſhould appear in *Scotlan*

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MOREOVER, Mr *Aſhburnham's* opinion, which he had deliver'd to the Lord *Capel*, wrought very much upon them; for that a Man ſo entirely truſted by the King, who had ſeen him as lately as any Body, ſhould bring no directions from his Majeſty to his Son, and that he ſhould believe, that it was fitter for the Prince to ſtay in *Jerſey* than to remove into *France*, till his Majeſty's pleaſure was better underſtood, confirm'd them in the judgement they had deliver'd.

BUT there was another reaſon that prevailed with thoſe who had been made Privy to it, and which, out of Duty to the Queen, they thought not fit to publiſh, or inſiſt upon; it was the Inſtructions given to *Bellievre* (and which too much manifeſted the irreſolution her Majeſty had) not to inſiſt upon what they well knew the King would never depart from; for, though that Embaſſadour was required to do all he could to perſwade the Presbyterians to joyn with the King's Party, and not to inſiſt upon the deſtruction of the Church, yet if he found that could not be compaſſed, He was to preſs, as the advice of the King his Maſter, his Majeſty to part with the Church, and to ſatisfy the Presbyterians in that point, as the advice of the Queen his Wife, and of his own Party; which method was afterwards obſerv'd and purſued by *Bellievre*; which thoſe Lords perfectly abhorr'd; and thought not fit ever to concur in, or to be privy to thoſe Counſels that had begun, and were to carry on that Confuſion.

WITHIN a day or two after the Prince's departure from *Jerſey*, the Earl of *Berk-ſhire* left it likewiſe, and went for *England*; the Lords *Capel*, *Hopton*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, remain'd together in *Jerſey* to expect the King's pleaſure, and to attend a conjuncture to appear again in his Majeſty's Service; of all which they found an opportunity to inform his Majeſty, who very well interpreted all that they had done according to the ſincerity of their hearts; yet did believe, that if they had likewiſe waited upon the Prince into *France*, they might have been able to have prevented or diverted thoſe violent Preſſures, which were afterwards made upon him from thence, and gave him more diſquiet than he ſuffer'd from all the Inſolence of his Enemies.

IN a word, if the King's Fortune had been farther to be conducted by any fixt Rules of policy and diſcretion, and if the current towards his deſtruction had not run with ſuch a Torrent, as carried down all obſtructions of Sobriety and Wiſdom, and made the Confuſion inevitable, it is very probable that this ſo ſuddain remove of the Prince from *Jerſey* with all the Circumſtances thereof, might have been look'd upon, and Cenſured with Severity, as an Action that ſwerv'd from that prudence which by the fundamental Rules of policy had been long eſtabliſh'd; but by the Fatal and prodigious Calamities which follow'd, all Counſels of wiſe and unwiſe Men proving equally unſucceſsful, the Memory of what had paſſed before, grew to be the leſs thought upon and conſidered.

Tranſactions relating to the King in the Scotiſh *Army.*

WHILST theſe things were thus Tranſacted in other Parts, the King remain'd yet in the *Scotiſh* Army; that People behaving themſelves in ſuch a manner, that moſt Men believ'd they would never have parted with his Majeſty till a full Peace had been made. The Parliament made many ſharp Inſtances, "that the King might be deliver'd into their hands; "and that the *Scotiſh* Army would return into their own Coun-"try, having done what they were ſent for, and the War be-"ing at an end. To which the Council of *Scotland* ſeem'd to Anſwer with Courage enough, and inſiſted moſt on thoſe Arguments of the King's legal Rights, which had been, in all his Majeſty's Declarations, urged againſt the Parliaments proceedings; and which indeed could never be Anſwer'd; and as much condemn'd Them, as the Parliament.

IN the mean time, though the King receiv'd all outward Reſpect, he was in truth in the condition of a Priſoner; no Servant whom he could Truſt ſuffer'd to come to him; and though many Perſons of Quality who had ſerv'd the King in the War, when they ſaw the reſolute Anſwers made by the *Scots*, "that they neither would nor could compel their King "to return to the Parliament, if his Majeſty had no mind to "do ſo, repaired to *New-Caſtle*, where his Majeſty was, yet none of them were ſuffer'd to ſpeak to him; nor could he receive from, or ſend any Letter to the Queen or Prince; and yet the *Scots* obſerv'd all diſtances, and perform'd all the Ceremonies as could have been expected if they had indeed treated him as their King; and made as great profeſſion to him of their Duty and good purpoſes, "which they ſaid they would "manifeſt aſſoon as it ſhould be ſeaſonable; and then his Ser-"vants, and Friends ſhould repair to him with all Liberty, "and be well receiv'd: and as they endeavour'd to perſwade the King to expect this from them, ſo they prevailed with many Officers of that Army, and ſome of the Nobility, to believe that they meant well, but that it was not yet time to diſcover their Intentions.

The King ſends to the Marquis of Mountroſe *to disband; which he did.*

THUS they prevailed with the King to ſend his poſitive Orders to the Marquis of *Mountroſe*, who had indeed done Wonders, to lay down his Armes, and to leave the Kingdom; till when, they pretended they could not declare for his Majeſty; and this was done with ſo much earneſtneſs, and by a particular Meſſenger known and Truſted, that the Marquis obeyed, and Tranſported himſelf into *France*.

THEN they imploy'd their *Alexander Henderſon*, and their other Clergy, to perſwade the King to conſent to the Extirpation of Epiſcopacy in ***England***, as he had in ***Scotland***; and it was, and is ſtill believ'd, that if his Majeſty would have been induced to have ſatisfied them in that particular, they would either have had a Party in the Parliament at ***Weſtminſter*** to have been ſatisfied therewith, or that they would thereupon have declared for the King, and have preſently joyn'd with the Loyal Party in all places for his Majeſty's defence. But the King was too Conſcientious to buy his Peace at ſo Prophane and Sacrilegious a price as was demanded, and he was ſo much too hard for Mr *Henderſon* in the Argumentation (as appears by the Papers that paſſed between them, which were ſhortly after Communicated to the world) that the old Man himſelf was ſo far Convinced, and Converted, that he had a very deep ſenſe of the miſchief he had himſelf been the Author of, or too much contributed to, and lamented it to his neareſt Friends, and Confidents; and dyed of grief, and heart-broken, within a very ſhort time after he departed from his Majeſty.

They employ Henderſon *to the King to diſpute with him concerning Church Government.*

Mr Henderſon *dyes ſhortly after.*

WHILST the King ſtayed at ***New-Caſtle***, ***Bellievre*** the ***French*** Embaſſadour, who was ſent from ***Paris*** after the Prince arriv'd there, and by whom the Cardinal had promiſed to preſs the Parliament ſo imperiouſly, and to denounce a War againſt them if they refuſed to yield to what was reaſonable towards an Agreement with the King, came to his Majeſty, after he had ſpent ſome time at ***London*** in all the low Application to the Parliament that can be imagin'd, without any mention of the King with any tenderneſs, as if his Intereſt were at all conſider'd by the King his Maſter, and without any conſultation with thoſe of his Majeſty's Party; who were then in ***London***, and would have been very ready to have adviſed with him. But he choſe rather to converſe with the principal Leaders of the Presbyterian Party in the Parliament, and with the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners; from whoſe Information he took all his Meaſures; and they aſſured him "that nothing "could be done for the King, except he would give up the "Church; extirpate Epiſcopacy; and grant all the Lands belonging to Cathedral Churches to ſuch Uſes as the Parlia"ment ſhould adviſe; ſo that, when he came to the King, he preſs'd him very earneſtly to that Condeſcenſion.

Bellievre's *negotiations at* London, *and with the King afterwards at* New-Caſtle.

BUT, beſides the matter propoſed, in which his Majeſty was unmoveable, he had no eſteem of any thing the Embaſſadour ſaid to him, having too late diſcover'd the little affection the Cardinal had for him, and which he had too much relied upon. For, as hath been already ſaid, by his advice, and upon his undertaking and aſſurance that his Majeſty ſhould be well receiv'd in the *Scotiſh* Army, and that they would be firm t his Intereſt, his Majeſty had ventur'd to put himſelf into thei hands; and he was no ſooner there, than all they with whon *Montrevil* had Treated, diſavow'd their undertaking what th King had been inform'd of; and though the Envoy did avow and juſtify, what he had inform'd the King, to the Faces o the Perſons who had given their Engagements, the Cardina choſe rather to Recall, and Diſcountenance the Miniſter o that Crown, than to enter into any Expoſtulation with the Parliament, or the *Scots*.

THE Embaſſadour, by an Expreſs, quickly inform'd the Cardinal that the King was too reſerv'd in giving the Parliamen ſatisfaction; and therefore wiſhed, “that ſome Body migh “be ſent over, who was like to have ſo much credit with hi “Majeſty as to perſwade him to what was neceſſary for hi “Service Upon which, the Queen, who was never adviſe by thoſe who either underſtood, or valued his true Intereſt conſulted with thoſe about her; and ſent Sr *William D'avenant* an honeſt Man, and a Witty, but in all reſpects inferior t ſuch a Truſt, with a Letter of credit to the King (who knew the Perſon well enough under another Character than was like to give him much credit in the Argument in which he was inſtructed) although her Majeſty had likewiſe other ways declared her opinion to his Majeſty, “that he ſhould part wit “the Church for his Peace and Security.

Sr William D'avenant *ſent from the Queen to the King to perſwade him to give up the Church.*

SIR *William D'avenant* had, by the countenance of the *French* Embaſſadour, eaſy admiſſion to the King; who hear him patiently all he had to ſay, and anſwer'd him in tha manner that made it evident he was not pleaſed with the advice. When he found his Majeſty unſatisfied, and that he was not like to conſent to what was ſo earneſtly deſired by them by whoſe advice he was ſent, who undervalued all thoſ ſcruples of Conſcience which his Majeſty himſelf was ſtrongly poſſeſs'd with, he took upon himſelf the confidence to offer ſome Reaſons to the King to induce him to yield to what was propos'd; and, among other things, ſaid, “it was the advice “and opinion of all his Friends; his Majeſty asking, “what “Friends? and he anſwering, “that it was the opinion of the “Lord *Jermyn*, the King ſaid, “that the Lord *Jermyn* did “not underſtand any thing of the Church. The other ſaid, “the Lord *Colepepper* was of the ſame mind. The King ſaid, *Colepepper* had no Religion: and asked, “whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer was of that mind? to which he anſwer'd, “he did not know; for that he was not there, and “had deſerted the Prince: and thereupon, ſaid ſomewhat from the Queen of the diſpleaſure ſhe had conceiv'd againſt the Chancellor; to which the King ſaid, “the Chancellor "was an honeſt Man, and would never deſert Him, nor the "Prince, nor the Church; and that he was ſorry he was not with "his Son; but that his Wife was miſtaken *D'avenant* then offering ſome reaſons of his own, in which he mention'd the Church ſlightingly, as if it were not of Importance enough to weigh down the benefit that would attend the conceſſion, his Majeſty was tranſported with ſo much indignation, that he gave him a ſharper reprehenſion than was uſual for him to give to any other Man; and forbid him to preſume to come again into his Preſence. Whereupon the poor Man, who had in truth very good Affections, was exceedingly dejected and afflicted; and return'd into *France*, to give an Account of his ill Succeſs to thoſe who ſent him.

As all Men's expectations from the Courage and Activity of the *French* Embaſſadour in *England*, were thus fruſtrated, by his mean and low Carriage both towards the Parliament and at *New-Caſtle*, ſo all the profeſſions which had been made of reſpect and tenderneſs towards the Prince of *Wales*, when his Perſon ſhould once appear in *France*, were as unworthily diſappointed. The Prince had been above two Months with the Queen his Mother, before any Notice was taken of his being in *France*, by the leaſt Meſſage ſent from the Court to Congratulate his arrival there; but that time was ſpent in debating the Formalities of his Reception; how the King ſhould treat him? and how he ſhould behave himſelf towards the King? whether he ſhould take place of Monſieur the King's Brother? and what kind of Ceremonies ſhould be obſerv'd between the Prince of *Wales* and his Uncle the Duke of *Orleans*? and many ſuch other particulars; in all which they were reſolv'd to give the Law themſelves; and which had been fitter to have been adjuſted in *Jerſey*, before he put himſelf into their Power, than diſputed afterwards in the Court of *France*; from which there could be then no Appeal.

The Princ treatment when He came into France.

THERE can be no doubt but that the Cardinal, who was the ſole Miniſter of State, and directed all that was to be done, and dictated all that was to be ſaid, did think the preſence of the Prince there of the higheſt importance to their affairs, and did all that was in his Power, to perſwade the Queen that it was as neceſſary for the affairs of the King her Husband, and of her Majeſty: but now that work was over, and the Perſon of the Prince brought into their power, without the leaſt publick Act or Ceremony to invite him thither, it was no leſs his care that the Parliament in *England*, and the Officers of the Army, whom he fear'd more than the Parliament, ſhould believe that the Prince came thither without their wiſh, and in truth againſt their will; that the Crown of *France* could not refuſe to interpoſe, and mediate, to make up the difference between the Parliament and the *Scotiſh* Nation, and that the Kingdoms might be reſtored to Peace; but that when they had perform'd that Office of Mediation, they had perform'd their Function; and that they would no more preſume to take upon them to judge between the Parliament and the *Scots*, than they had done between the King and the Parliament; and that ſince the Prince had come to the Queen his Mother, from which they could not reaſonably reſtrain him, it ſhould not be attended with any prejudice to the Peace of *England*; nor ſhould he there find any means, or aſſiſtance, to diſturb it. And it was believ'd by thoſe who ſtood at no great diſtance from affairs, that the Cardinal then laid the Foundation for that Friendſhip which was ſhortly after built up between him and *Cromwell*, by promiſing "that they ſhould "receive leſs inconvenience by the Prince's remaining in "*France*, than if he were in any other part of *Europe*. And it can hardly be believ'd, with how little reſpect they treated him during the whole time of his ſtay there. They were very careful that he might not be look'd upon as ſupported by them either according to his Dignity, or for the maintenance of his Family; but a mean addition to the Penſion which the Queen had before, was made to her Majeſty, without any mention of the Prince her Son; who was wholely to depend upon her Bounty, without power to gratify and oblige any of his own Servants; that they likewiſe might depend only upon the Queen's goodneſs and favour, and ſo behave themſelves accordingly.

WHEN the *Scots* had ſecured the peace and quiet of their own Country, by Disbanding the Forces under the Marquis of *Mountroſe*, and by his Tranſporting himſelf beyond the Seas, and by putting to death ſeveral Perſons of Name who had follow'd the Marquis, and had been taken Priſoners, among whom S^r^ *Robert Spotſwood* was one, a worthy honeſt Loyal Gentleman, and as wiſe a Man as that Nation had at that time (whom the King had made Secretary of State of that Kingdom, in the place of the Earl of *Lanrick*, who was then in Armes againſt him; which, it may be, was a principal cauſe that the other was put to death.) And when they had with ſuch Solemnity and Reſolution made it plain and evident, that they could not, without the moſt barefaced violation of their Faith and Allegiance, and of the fundamental principle of Chriſtian Religion, ever deliver up their Native King, who had put himſelf into their hands, into the hands of the Parliament, againſt his own Will and Conſent: And when the Earl of *Lowden* had publickly declared to the two Houſes of Parliament in a Conference. "that an Eternal Infamy would "lie upon them, and the whole Nation, if they ſhould deliver

"liver the Perſon of the King; the ſecuring of which was "equally their Duty, as it was the Parliament's, and the diſ-"poſal of his Perſon in order to that ſecurity did equally be-"long to Them as to the Parliament; however, they ſaid, "they would uſe all the perſwaſion, and all the importunity "they could with the King that his Majeſty might yield, and "conſent to the propoſitions the Parliament had ſent to him.

THE Parliament had, upon the firſt notice of the King's being arriv'd in the *Scotiſh* Army, ſent a poſitive Command to the Committee of both Kingdoms reſiding in the *Scotiſh* Army, that the Perſon of the King ſhould be forthwith ſent to *Warwick* Caſtle; but the *Scots*, who apprehended they could not be long without ſuch an Order, had, within two days after his Majeſty's coming to them, and after he had cauſed *Newark* to be deliver'd up, with wonderful expedition marched towards *New-Caſtle*; and were arriv'd there before they receiv'd that Order for ſending his Majeſty to *Warwick*; which proceeding of theirs, pleaſed his Majeſty very well, among many other things which diſpleaſed him; and perſwaded him, that though they would obſerve their own method, they would, in the end, do ſomewhat for his Service.

UPON the receiving that Order, they renew'd their profeſſions to the Parliament of obſerving punctually all that had been agreed between them; and beſought them, "that ſince "they had promiſed the King, before he left *Oxford*, to ſend "Propoſitions to him, they would now do it; and ſaid, that "if he refuſed to comply with them, to which they ſhould "perſwade him, they knew what they were to do. Then they adviſed the King, and prevailed with him, to ſend Orders to the Governour of *Oxford* to make conditions, and to ſurrender that place (where his Son the Duke of *York* was, and all the Council) into the hands of *Fairfax*, who with his Army then beſieged them; and likewiſe to publiſh a general Order (which they cauſed to be printed) "that all Gover-"nours of any Garriſons for his Majeſty, ſhould immedi-"ately deliver them up to the Parliament upon fair and ho-"nourable Conditions, ſince his Majeſty reſolv'd in all things "to be adviſed by his Parliament; and till this was done, "they ſaid, they could not declare themſelves in that manner "for his Majeſty's Service, and Intereſt, as they reſolv'd to "do; for that they were, by their Treaty and Confederacy, to "ſerve the Parliament in ſuch manner as they ſhould direct, "until the War ſhould be ended; but, that done, they had no "more obligations to the Parliament; and that, when his Ma-"jeſty had no more Forces on foot, nor Garriſons which "held out for him, it could not be denied but that the War "was at an end; and then they could ſpeak and expoſtulate

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" with freedom. By which arts, they prevailed with the King to ſend, and publiſh ſuch Orders as aforeſaid; and which indeed, as the caſe then ſtood, he could have receiv'd little benefit by not publiſhing.

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THE Parliament was contented, as the more expedite way (though they were much offended at the preſumption of the *Scots* in neglecting to ſend the King to *Warwick*) to ſend their Propoſitions to the King (which they knew his Majeſty would never grant) by Commiſſioners of both Houſes, who had no other Authority, or Power, than " to demand a po-" ſitive Anſwer from the King in ten days, and then to return. Theſe Propoſitions were deliver'd about the end of *July*; and contain'd ſuch an eradication of the Government of the Church and State, that the King told them, " he knew not " what Anſwer to make to them, till he ſhould be inform'd " what Power or Authority they had left to him, and his " Heirs, when he had given all that to them which they de-" ſired. He deſired, " that he might be removed to ſome of " his own Houſes, and that he might reſide there till, upon a " Perſonal Treaty with his Parliament, ſuch an agreement " might be eſtabliſhed as the Kingdom might enjoy peace and " happineſs under it; which, he was ſure, it could never do " by the conceſſions they propoſed.

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THE *Scots*, who were enough convinced that his Majeſty could never be wrought upon to ſacrifice the Church to their wild luſts and impiety, were as good as their words to the Parliament, and uſed all the rude importunity and Threats to his Majeſty, to perſwade him freely to conſent to all: though they confeſſed " that the Propoſitions were higher in many " things than they approv'd of, yet they ſaw no other means " for him to cloſe with his Parliament, than by granting what " they required.

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THE Chancellor of *Scotland* told him, " that the conſe-" quence of his Anſwer to the Propoſitions, was as great, as the " ruin, or preſervation of his Crown or Kingdoms: That the " Parliament after many bloody Battles, had got the ſtrong-" holds and Forts of the Kingdom into their hands: that they " had his Revenue, Exciſe, Aſſeſſments, Sequeſtrations, and " power to raiſe all the Men and Money of the Kingdom: " that they had gained Victory over all, and that they had a " ſtrong Army to maintain it; ſo that they might do what " they would with Church or State: that they deſired neither " Him, nor any of his Race, longer to Reign over them; and " had ſent theſe Propoſitions to his Majeſty, without the " granting whereof, the Kingdom and his People could not " be in ſafety: that if he refuſed to Aſſent, he would loſe all " his Friends in Parliament, loſe the City, and loſe the Coun-

"" try; and that all *England* would joyn againſt him as one " Man to proceſs, and depoſe him, and to ſet up another Go- " vernment; and ſo, that both Kingdoms, for either's Safety, " would agree to ſettle Religion and Peace without him, to " the ruin of his Majeſty, and his Poſterity: and concluded, " that if he left *England*, he would not be admitted to come " and Reign in *Scotland*.

AND it is very true that the General Aſſembly of the Kirk, which was then ſitting in *Scotland*, had Petition'd the Conſervators of the Peace of the Kingdom, "that if the King " ſhould refuſe to give ſatisfaction to his Parliament, he might " not be permitted to come into *Scotland*. This kind of Argumentation did more provoke than perſwade the King; he told them, with great Reſolution, and Magnanimity, "that " no Condition they could reduce him to, could be half ſo mi- " ſerable, and grievous to him, as that which they would " perſwade him to reduce himſelf to; and therefore, bid them " proceed their own way; and that though they had all for- " ſaken him, God had not.

His Ma- ſty's An to them.

THE Parliament had now receiv'd the Anſwer they expected; and, forthwith, required "the *Scots* to quit the King- " dom, and to deliver the Perſon of the King to ſuch Perſons " as they ſhould appoint to receive him; who ſhould attend upon his Majeſty from *New-Caſtle* to *Holmby*, a Houſe of his at a ſmall diſtance from *Northampton*, a Town and Country of very eminent diſaffection to the King throughout the War; and declared "that his Majeſty ſhould be treated, with " reſpect to the ſafety and preſervation of his Perſon, accord- " ing to the Covenant: And that after his coming to *Holmby*, " he ſhould be attended by ſuch as they ſhould appoint; and " that when the *Scots* were removed out of *England*, the Par- " liament would joyn with their Brethren of *Scotland* again " to perſwade the King to paſs the Propoſitions; which if he " refuſed to do, the Houſe would do nothing that might break " the Union of the two Kingdoms, but would endeavour to pre- " ſerve the ſame.

The Parl ment req the Scots *quit the Kingdom and to d ver up th Perſon the King*

THE *Scots* now begun again to talk ſturdily, and deny'd " that the Parliament of *England* had power abſolutely to " diſpoſe of the Perſon of the King without their approba- " tion; and the Parliament as loudly reply'd, "that they had " nothing to do in *England*, but to obſerve their Orders; and added ſuch Threats to their Reaſons, as might let them ſee they had a great contempt of their power, and would exact Obedience from them, if they refuſed to yield it. But theſe diſcourſes were only kept up till they could adjuſt all Accounts between them, and agree what price they ſhould pay for the delivery of his Perſon whom one ſide was reſolv'd to *he* Scots *gree to de- ver up the ing.*

have, and the other as reſolv'd not to keep; and ſo they agreed; and, upon the payment of two hundred thouſand pounds in hand, and ſecurity for as much more upon days agreed upon, the *Scots* deliver'd the King up into ſuch hands as the Parliament appointed to receive Him.

IN this infamous manner that excellent Prince was, in the end of *January*, given up, by his *Scotiſh* Subjects, to thoſe of his *Engliſh* who were intruſted by the Parliament to receive Him; which had appointed a Committee of Lords and Commons, to go to the place agreed upon with a Party of Horſe and Foot of the Army, which were ſubject to the Orders of that Committee, and the Committee it ſelf to go to *New-Caſtle* to receive that Town as well as the King; where, and to whom, his Majeſty was deliver'd.

he Commit- ee appointed the Par- ament re- eive the ing at New-Ca- ︎*le in the nd of* Ja- uary.

ervants ap- ointed by he Parlia- ent to at- end his Ma- ſty.

THEY receiv'd Him with the ſame formality of reſpect as he had been treated with by the *Scots*, and with the ſame ſtrictneſs reſtrain'd all reſort of thoſe to his Majeſty, who were of doubtful Affections to them, and their Cauſe. Servants were particularly appointed, and named by the Parliament, to attend upon his Perſon, and Service, in all relations; amongſt which, in the firſt place, they preferr'd thoſe who had faithfully adhered to them againſt their Maſter; and, where ſuch were wanting, they found others who had manifeſted their Affection to them. And, in this diſtribution, the Presbyterian Party in the Houſes did what they pleaſed, and were thought to govern all. The Independents craftily letting them enjoy that confidence of their power and intereſt, till they had diſmiſs'd their Friends, the *Scots*, out of the Kingdom; and permitting them to put Men of their principles about the Perſon of the King, and to chooſe ſuch a Guard as they could confide in, to attend his Majeſty.

he King is rought to olmby.

OF the Committee imploy'd to govern and direct all, Major General *Brown* was one, who had a great Name and Intereſt in the City, and with all the Presbyterian Party, and had done great Service to the Parliament in the War under the Earl of *Eſſex*, and was a diligent and ſtout Commander. In this manner, and with this attendance, his Majeſty was brought to his own Houſe at *Holmby* in *Northampton-ſhire*; a place he had taken much delight in: And there he was to ſtay till the Parliament and the Army (for the Army now took upon them to have a ſhare, and to give their opinion in the Settlement that ſhould be made) ſhould determine what ſhould be farther done.

IN the mean time, the Committee paid all reſpects to his Majeſty; and he enjoy'd thoſe Exerciſes he moſt delighted in; and ſeem'd to have all liberty, but to confer with Perſons he moſt deſired, and to have ſuch Servants about him as he could truſt. That which moſt diſpleaſed him, was, that they would not permit him to have his own Chaplains; but order'd Preſbyterian Miniſters to attend for Divine Service; and his Majeſty, utterly refuſing to be preſent at their Devotions, was compell'd at thoſe hours to be his own Chaplain in his Bed-Chamber; where he conſtantly uſed the Common-Prayer by himſelf. His Majeſty bore this conſtraint ſo heavily that he writ a Letter to the Houſe of Peers, in which he incloſed a Liſt of the Names of thirteen of his Chaplains; any two of which he deſir'd might have liberty to attend him for his Devotion. To which, after many days conſideration, they return'd this Anſwer; "that all thoſe Chaplains were diſaffected "to the Eſtabliſh'd Government of the Church, and had not "taken the Covenant; but that there were others who had, "who, if his Majeſty pleas'd, ſhould be ſent to him. After this Anſwer, his Majeſty thought it to no purpoſe to importune them farther in that particular; but, next to the having his own Chaplains, he would have been beſt pleas'd to have been without any; they who were ſent by them, being Men of mean Parts and of moſt impertinent and troubleſome Confidence and Importunity.

The King
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WHILST thoſe Diſputes continued between the Parliament and the *Scots* concerning the King's Perſon, the Army proceeded with great Succeſs in reducing thoſe Garriſons which ſtill continued in his Majeſty's Obedience; whereof though ſome Surrender'd more eaſily and with leſs reſiſtance than they might have made, ſatisfying themſelves with the King's general Order, and that there was no reaſonable expectation of Relief, and therefore that it would not be amiſs, by an early Submiſſion, to obtain better Conditions for themſelves; yet others defended themſelves with notable Obſtinacy to the laſt, to the great damage of the Enemy, and to the detaining the Army from Uniting together; without which they could not purſue the great deſigns they had. And this was one of the reaſons that made the Treaty with the *Scots* depend ſo long, and that the Presbyterians continued their Authority and Credit ſo long; and We may obſerve again, that thoſe Garriſons which were maintain'd and defended with the greateſt Courage and Virtue, in the end, obtain'd as good and as honourable Conditions, as any of thoſe who Surrender'd upon the firſt Summons.

Divers G
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THIS was the Caſe of *Ragland* and *Pendennis* Caſtles; which endured the longeſt Sieges, and held out the laſt of any Forts or Caſtles in *England*; being bravely defended by two Perſons of very great Age; but were at length deliver'd up within a day or two of each other. *Ragland* was maintain'd, with extraordinary Reſolution and Courage, by the old

Marquis of *Worceſter* againſt *Fairfax* himſelf, till it was reduced to the utmoſt Neceſſity. *Pendennis* refuſed all Summons; admitting no Treaty, till all their Proviſions were ſo far conſumed, that they had not Victual left for four and twenty hours; and then they treated and carried themſelves in the Treaty with ſuch Reſolution, and Unconcernedneſs, that the Enemy concluded they were in no ſtreights; and ſo gave them the Conditions they propos'd; which were as good as any Garriſon in *England* had accepted. This Caſtle was defended by the Governour thereof, *John Arundel* of *Trerice* in *Cornwal*, an old Gentleman of near fourſcore years of Age, and of one of the beſt Eſtates and Intereſt in that County; who, with the Aſſiſtance of his Son *Richard Arundel* (who was then a Colonel in the Army; a ſtout and diligent Officer; and was by the King after his Return made a Baron, Lord *Arundel* of *Trerice*, in memory of his Father's Service, and his own eminent behaviour throughout the War) maintain'd, and defended the ſame to the laſt Extremity.

THERE remain'd with him in that Service many Gentlemen of the Country of great Loyalty, amongſt whom Sr *Harry Killigrew* was one; who, being an intimate Friend of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, reſolv'd to go to *Jerſey*; and, aſſoon as the Caſtle was Surrender'd, took the firſt opportunity of a Veſſel then in the Harbour of *Falmouth*, to Tranſport himſelf with ſome Officers and Soldiers to St *Maloes* in *Britany*; from whence he writ to the Chancellor in *Jerſey*, that he would procure a Bark of that Iſland to go to St *Maloes* to fetch him thither; which, by the kindneſs of Sr *George Carteret*, was preſently ſent, with a longing deſire to receive him into that Iſland; the two Lords *Capel* and *Hopton*, and the Governour, having an extraordinary affection for him, as well as the Chancellor. Within two days after, upon view of the Veſſel at Sea (which they well knew) they all made haſt to the Harbour to receive their Friend; but, when they came thither, to their infinite regret, they found his Body there in a Coffin, he having dy'd at St *Maloes* within a day after he had written his Letter.

AFTER the Treaty was ſign'd for delivering the Caſtle, he had walked out to diſcharge ſome Armes which were in his Chamber; among which, a Carabine that had been long charged, in the ſhooting off, broke; and a ſplinter of it ſtruck him in the fore-head; which, though it drew much Blood, was not apprehended by him to be of any danger; ſo that his Friends could not perſwade him to ſtay there till the wound was cured; but, the Blood being ſtopp'd, and the Chirurgeon having bound it up, he proſecuted his intended Voyage; and at his Landing at St *Maloes*, he writ that Letter; believing his wound would give him little trouble. But his Letter was no ſooner gone than he ſent for a Chirurgeon; who, opening the wound, found it was very deep and dangerous; and the next day he dy'd, having deſired that his dead Body might be ſent to *Jerſey*; where he was decently buried. He was a very Gallant Gentleman, of a Noble Extraction, and a fair Revenue in Land; of excellent Parts and Courage; he had one only Son, who was killed before him in a Party that fell upon the Enemies Quarters near *Bridgewater*; where he behaved himſelf with remarkable Courage, and was generally lamented.

SIR *Harry* was of the Houſe of Commons; and though he had no other relation to the Court than the having many Friends there, as wherever he was known he was exceedingly belov'd, he was moſt zealous and paſſionate in oppoſing all the extravagant proceedings of the Parliament. And when the Earl of *Eſſex* was choſen General, and the ſeveral Members of the Houſe ſtood up, and declared, what Horſe they would raiſe, and maintain, and that they would live and dye with the Earl their General, one ſaying he would raiſe ten Horſes, and another twenty, He ſtood up and ſaid, "He "would provide a good Horſe, and a good Buff Coat, and a "good pair of Piſtols, and then he doubted not but he ſhould "find a good Cauſe; and ſo went out of the Houſe, and rode Poſt into *Cornwal*, where his Eſtate and Intereſt lay; and there joyn'd with thoſe Gallant Gentlemen his Friends, who firſt receiv'd the Lord *Hopton*, and raiſed thoſe Forces which did ſo many famous Actions in the Weſt.

HE would never take any Command in the Army; but they who had, conſulted with no Man more. He was in all Actions, and in thoſe places where was moſt danger, having great Courage and a pleaſantneſs of humour in Danger that was very exemplary; and they who did not do their duty, took care not to be within his view; for he was a very ſharp Speaker, and cared not for angering thoſe who deſerv'd to be reprehended. The *Arundels*, *Trelawnies*, *Slannings*, *Trevanions*, and all the ſignal Men of that County, infinitely loved his Spirit, and Sincerity; and his Credit and Intereſt had a great influence upon all but thoſe who did not love the King; and to thoſe, he was very terrible; and exceedingly hated by them; and not loved by Men of moderate Tempers; for he thought all ſuch prepared to Rebel, when a little Succeſs ſhould encourage them; and was many times too much offended with Men who wiſh'd well, and whoſe Conſtitutions and Complections would not permit them to expreſs the ſame frankneſs, which his Nature and keenneſs of Spirit could not ſuppreſs. His loſs was much lamented by all good Men.

FROM the time that the King was brought to *Holmby*, and whilſt he ſtay'd there, he was afflicted with the ſame preſſures concerning the Church, which had diſquieted him at *New-Caſtle*; the Parliament not remitting any of their Inſolencies in their Demands: all which was imputed to the Preſbyterians, who were thought to exerciſe the whole Power, and begun to give Orders for the leſſening their great Charge by diſbanding ſome Troops of their Army, and ſending others for *Ireland*; which they made no doubt ſpeedily to Reduce; and declared, "that they would then diſband all Armies, that "the Kingdom might be govern'd by the known Laws.

Differences ariſe between the Parliament and the Army.

THIS Temper in the Houſes raiſed another Spirit in the Army; which did neither like the Preſbyterian Government that they ſaw ready to be ſettled in the Church, nor that the Parliament ſhould ſo abſolutely diſpoſe of them, by whom they had gotten power to do all they had done; and *Cromwell*, who had the ſole influence upon the Army, under-hand, made them Petition the Houſes againſt any thing that was done contrary to his opinion. He himſelf, and his Officers, took upon them to Preach and Pray publickly to their Troops, and admitted few or no Chaplains in the Army, but ſuch as bitterly inveighed againſt the Preſbyterian Government, as more Tyrannical than Epiſcopacy; and the Common Soldiers, as well as the Officers, did not only Pray, and Preach among themſelves, but went up into the Pulpits in all Churches, and Preached to the People; who quickly became inſpired with the ſame Spirit; Women as well as Men taking upon them to Pray and Preach; which made as great a noiſe and confuſion in all opinions concerning Religion, as there was in the Civil Government of the State; ſcarce any Man being ſuffer'd to be called in queſtion for delivering any opinion in Religion, by ſpeaking or writing, how Prophane, Heretical or Blaſphemous ſoever it was; "which, they ſaid, was to "reſtrain the Spirit.

Divers Sects increaſe in the Army.

LIBERTY of Conſcience was now the Common Argumen and Quarrel, whilſt the Preſbyterian Party proceeded with equal bitterneſs againſt the ſeveral Sects as Enemies to all Godlineſs, as they had done, and ſtill continued to do, againſ the Prelatical Party; and finding themſelves ſuperior in the two Houſes, little doubted, by their Authority and Power there to be able to reform the Army, and to new model it again which they would, no doubt, have attempted, if it had no pleaſed God to have taken away the Earl of *Eſſex* ſom Months before this; who dy'd without being ſenſible of ſickneſs, in a time when he might have been able to have undon much of the miſchief he had formerly wrought; to which h had great inclinations; and had indignation enough for the indigniti

The Earl of Eſſex *dyed in* Sept. *this year.*

dignities himſelf had receiv'd from the ungrateful Parliament, and wonderful apprehenſion, and deteſtation of the ruin he aw like to befal the King, and the Kingdom. And it is very probable, conſidering the preſent temper of the City at that ime, and of the two Houſes, he might, if he had lived, have given ſome check to the rage and fury that then prevailed. But God would not ſuffer a Man, who, out of the Pride and Vanity of his Nature, rather than the wickedneſs of his Heart, had been made an Inſtrument of ſo much miſchief, to have any ſhare in ſo glorious a work: Though his Conſtitution, and Temper, might very well incline him to the Lethargick indiſpoſition of which he dy'd, yet it was loudly ſaid by many of his Friends, "that he was Poyſon'd.

SURE it is that *Cromwell*, and his Party (for he was now declared head of the Army, though *Fairfax* continued Geneal in Name) were wonderfully exalted with his death; he being the only Perſon whoſe Credit and Intereſt they fear'd without any eſteem of his Perſon.

AND now, that they might more ſubſtantially enter into diſpute, and competition with the Parliament, and go a ſhare with them in ſettling the Kingdom (as they call'd it) the Arny erected a kind of Parliament among themſelves. They had, from the time of the defeat of the King's Army, and when they had no more Enemy to contend with in the Field, nd after they had purged their Army of all thoſe inconvenint Officers, of whoſe entire Submiſſion, and Obedience to all heir Dictates, they had not confidence, ſet aſide, in effect, heir Self-denying Ordinance, and got their principal Officers f the Army, and others of their Friends, whoſe Principles hey well knew, to be elected Members of the Houſe of Commons into their places who were dead, or who had been expell'd by them for adhering to the King. By this means, *Fairfax* himſelf, *Ireton*, *Harriſon*, and many others of the Inependents, Officers and Gentlemen, of the ſeveral Counties, who were tranſported with new fancies in Religion, and were alled by a new name *Fanaticks*, ſate in the Houſe of Commons; notwithſtanding all which, the Presbyterians ſtill caried it.

BUT about this time, that they might be upon a nearer Level with the Parliament, the Army made choice of a numer of ſuch Officers as they liked; which they called the Geeral's Council of Officers; who were to reſemble the Houſe f Peers; and the Common Soldiers made choice of three or our of each Regiment, moſt Corporals or Serjeants, few or one above the degree of an Enſign, who were call'd Agitaors, and were to be as a Houſe of Commons to the Council f Officers. Theſe two Repreſentatives met ſeverally, and conſider'd

Agitators, as well as a Council of Officers, appointed by the Army.

conſider'd of all the Acts and Orders made by the Parliamen towards ſettling the Kingdom, and towards reforming, dividing, or disbanding of the Army: and, upon mutual Meſſages and Conferences between each other, they reſolv'd ir

Their firſt Reſolutions;

the firſt place, and declared, "that they would not be divided or disbanded, before their full Arrears were paid, and befor full Proviſion was made for Liberty of Conſcience; which they ſaid, was the ground of the Quarrel, and for which ſo many of their Friends Lives had been loſt, and ſo much of their own Blood had been ſpilt; and that hitherto ther was ſo little ſecurity provided in that point, that there wa a greater Perſecution now againſt Religious and Godly Men than ever had been in the King's Government, when th Biſhops were their Judges.

THEY ſaid, "they did not look upon themſelves as a Ban of *Janizaries*, hired and entertain'd only to Fight their Battles; but that they had voluntarily taken up Armes for th Liberty and Defence of the Nation of which they were part; and before they laid down thoſe Armes, they woul ſee all thoſe ends well provided for, that the People migh not hereafter undergo thoſe grievances which they had formerly ſuffer'd. They complain'd that ſome Members of th Army had been ſent for by the Parliament, and committe to Priſon, which was againſt their Privilege; ſince all So diers ought to be tryed by a Council of War, and not b any other Judicatory; and therefore they deſired redreſs i theſe, and many other particulars of as ingrateful a Nature and that ſuch as were Impriſon'd and in Cuſtody, might b forthwith ſet at liberty; without which they could not thin themſelves juſtly dealt with: And with this Declaration an

Which they deliver'd to the Parliament.

Addreſs, they ſent three or four of their own Members to th Houſe of Commons; who deliver'd it at the Bar with wonderful Confidence.

THE Soldiers publiſh'd a vindication, as they call'd it, their Proceedings and Reſolutions, and directed it to the General; in which they complain'd of a deſign to disban and new model the Army; "which, they ſaid, was a Pl contriv'd by ſome Men who had lately taſted of Soveraig ty; and, being lifted up above the ordinary Sphere of Se vants, endeavour'd to become Maſters, and were degen rated into Tyrants. They therefore declared, "that th would neither be imploy'd for the Service of *Ireland*, n ſuffer themſelves to be disbanded, till their deſires we granted, and the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects ſhou be vindicated, and maintain'd. This Apology, or Vinc cation, being ſign'd by many inferior Officers, the Parliame declared them to be Enemies to the State; and cauſed ſor f them, who talked loudeſt, to be impriſon'd. Upon which new Addreſs was made to their General; wherein they complain'd “how diſdainfully they were uſed by the Parliament, ‘for whom they had ventured their lives, and loſt their ‘Blood: that the Privileges which were due to them as Sol‘diers, and as Subjects, were taken from them; and when ‘they complain'd of the Injuries they receiv'd, they were ‘abuſed, beaten, and dragg'd into Goals.

And to their General.

HEREUPON, the General was prevailed with to write a Letter to a Member of Parliament, who ſhew'd it to the Houſe; in which he took notice of ſeveral Petitions, which were prepared in the City of ***London***, and ſome other Counties of the Kingdom, againſt the Army; and “that it was look'd ‘upon as very ſtrange, that the Officers of the Army might ‘not be permitted to petition, when ſo many Petitions were ‘receiv'd againſt them; and that he much doubted that the ‘Army might draw to a Rendezvous, and think of ſome other ‘way for their own vindication.

THIS manner of proceeding by the Soldiers, but eſpecially the General ſeeming to be of their mind, troubled the Parliament; yet they reſolv'd not to ſuffer their Counſels to be cenſured, or their Actions controled, by thoſe who were retained by them, and who lived upon their pay. And therefore, after many high Expreſſions againſt the preſumption of ſeveral Officers and Soldiers, they declared, “that whoſoever ſhould ‘refuſe, being commanded, to engage himſelf in the Service “of ***Ireland***, ſhould be disbanded. The Army was reſolv'd not to be ſubdued in their firſt ſo declared Reſolution, and fell into a direct and high Mutiny, and call'd for the Arrears of pay due to them; which they knew where and how to Levy for themſelves; nor could they be in any degree appeaſed, till the Declaration that the Parliament had made againſt them, was raſed out of the Journal Book of both Houſes, and a Months pay ſent to them; nor were they ſatisfied with all this, but talked very loud, “that they knew “how to make themſelves as conſiderable as the Parliament, “and where to have their Service better valued, and reward“ed; which ſo frighted thoſe at *Weſtminſter*, that they appointed a Committee of Lords and Commons, whereof ſome were very acceptable to the Army, to go to them, and to treat with a Committee choſen of the Officers of the Army, upon the beſt expedients that might be applied to the compoſing theſe diſtempers. Now the Army thought it ſelf upon a Level with the Parliament, when they had a Committee of the one authoriſed to treat with a Committee of the other; which likewiſe raiſed the Spirits of ***Fairfax***, who had never thought of oppoſing or diſobeying the Parliament; and diſpoſed him

The Parliament's Declaration thereupon.

Afterward raſed out of their Books.

A Committee appointed by the two Houſes to treat with a Committee of the Army.

to more concurrence with the impetuous humour of the Army when he ſaw it was ſo much complied with and ſubmitted t by all Men.

Cromwells behaviour at firſt in theſe Mutinies.

CROMWELL, hitherto, carried himſelf with that rare diſſimulation (in which ſure he was a very great Maſter) tha he ſeem'd exceedingly incenſed againſt this Inſolence of th Soldiers; was ſtill in the Houſe of Commons when any ſuc Addreſſes were made; and inveighed bitterly againſt the preſumption, and had been the cauſe of the Commitment, o ſome of the Officers. He propoſed, "that the General migh "be ſent down to the Army; who, he ſaid, "would conjur "down this mutinous Spirit quickly; and he was ſo eaſily believ'd, that he himſelf was ſent once or twice to compoſ the Army; where after he had ſtayed two or three days, h would again return to the Houſe, and complain heavily "o "the great Licence that was got into the Army; that, fo "his own part, by the Artifice of his Enemies, and of thoſ "who deſired that the Nation ſhould be again imbrew'd i "Blood, he was render'd ſo odious unto them, that they ha "a purpoſe to kill him, if, upon ſome diſcovery made to him "he had not eſcaped out of their hands. And in theſe, an the like Diſcourſes, when he ſpake of the Nation's being t be involv'd in new troubles, he would weep bitterly, and appear the moſt afflicted Man in the world with the ſenſe of th Calamities which were like to enſue. But, as many of th wiſer ſort had long diſcover'd his wicked intentions, ſo his hypocriſy could not longer be concealed. The moſt active Officer and Agitators were known to be his own Creatures, and ſuc who neither did, nor would do, any thing but by his direction So that it was privately reſolv'd by the principal Perſons of th Houſe of Commons, that when he came the next day int the Houſe, which he ſeldom omitted to do, they would ſen him to the Tower; preſuming, that if they had once ſever' his Perſon from the Army, they ſhould eaſily reduce it to it former temper and obedience. For they had not the leaſ jealouſy of the General *Fairfax*, whom they knew to be a perfect Presbyterian in his Judgement; and that *Cromwell* ha the Aſcendent over him purely by his Diſſimulation, and pretence of Conſcience and Sincerity. There is no doubt *Fairfax* did not then, nor long after, believe, that the other ha thoſe wicked deſigns in his heart againſt the King, or the leaſ imagination of diſobeying the Parliament.

THIS purpoſe of ſeiſing upon the Perſon of *Cromwell* coul not be carried ſo ſecretly, but that he had notice of it; and th very next morning after he had ſo much lamented his deſperate misfortune in having loſt all reputation, and credit, an authority in the Army, and that his life would be in dange f he were with it, when the Houſe expected every minute is preſence, they were inform'd that he was met out of the Town by break of day, with one Servant only, on the way o the Army; where he had appointed a Rendezvous of ſome Regiments of the Horſe, and from whence he writ a Letter o the Houſe of Commons, “that having the night before receiv'd a Letter from ſome Officers of his own Regiment, ‘that the jealouſy the Troops had conceiv'd of him, and of his ‘want of kindneſs towards them, was much abated, ſo that ‘they believ'd, if he would be quickly preſent with them, ‘they would all in a ſhort time by his advice be reclaim'd, ‘upon this he had made all the haſt he could; and did find ‘that the Soldiers had been abuſed by miſinformation; and ‘that he hoped to diſcover the Fountain from whence it ‘Sprung; and in the mean time deſired that the General, and ‘the other Officers in the Houſe, and ſuch as remain'd about “the Town, might be preſently ſent to their Quarters; and “that he believ'd it would be very neceſſary in order to the “ſuppreſſion of the late diſtempers, and for the prevention of ‘the like for the time to come, that there might be a general Rendezvous of the Army; of which the General would “beſt conſider, when he came down; which he wiſhed might “be haſten'd. It was now to no purpoſe to diſcover what they had formerly intended, or that they had any jealouſy of a Perſon who was out of their reach; and ſo they expected a better conjuncture; and in few days after, the General and the other Officers left the Town, and went to their Quarters.

Cornet Joyce *ſeiſed upon the King at* Holmby June 3. 1647.

The ſame Morning that *Cromwell* left *London*, Cornet *Joyce*, who was one of the Agitators in the Army, a Taylor, a fellow who had two or three years before ſerv'd in a very Inferior imployment in Mr *Hollis*'s Houſe, came with a Squadron of fifty Horſe to *Holmby*, where the King was, about the break of day; and without any interruption by the Guard of Horſe and Foot which waited there, came with two or three more, and knock'd at the King's Chamber door, and ſaid “he muſt preſently ſpeak with the King. His Majeſty, ſurpriſed with the manner of it, roſe out of his bed; and, half dreſs'd, cauſed the door to be open'd, which he knew otherwiſe would be quickly broken open; they who waited in the Chamber being Perſons of whom he had little knowledge, and leſs confidence. Aſſoon as the door was open'd, *Joyce*, and two or three more, came into the Chamber, with their Hats off, and Piſtols in their hands. *Joyce* told the King, “that he muſt go with him. His Majeſty asked, “whither? he anſwer'd, “to the Army. The King asked him, “where “the Army was? he ſaid, “they would carry him to the “Place where it was. His Majeſty asked, “by what Au-

"thority they came? *Joyce* anſwer'd, "by this; and ſhew'd him his Piſtol; and deſir'd his Majeſty, "that he would cauſe "himſelf to be dreſs'd, becauſe it was neceſſary they ſhould "make haſt. None of the other Soldiers ſpoke a word; and *Joyce*, ſaving the bluntneſs, and poſitiveneſs of the few words he ſpoke, behaved himſelf not rudely. The King ſaid, "he "could not ſtir before he ſpoke with the Committee to "whom he had been deliver'd, and who were truſted by the "Parliament; and ſo appointed one of thoſe who waited upon him, to call them. The Committee had been as much ſurpriſed with the noiſe as the King had been, and quickly came to his Chamber, and asked *Joyce*, "whether he had any "Orders from the Parliament? he ſaid *No*. "From the General? *No*. What Authority he came by? to which he made no other Anſwer, than he had made to the King, and held up his Piſtol. They ſaid, "they would write to the "Parliament to know their pleaſure; *Joyce* ſaid, "they might "do ſo, but the King muſt preſently go with him. Colonel *Brown* had ſent for ſome of the Troops who were appointed for the King's Guard, but they came not; he ſpoke then with the Officer who Commanded thoſe who were at that time upon the Guard, and found that they would make no reſiſtance: ſo that after the King had made all the delays he conveniently could, without giving them cauſe to believe tha he was reſolv'd not to have gone, which had been to no purpoſe, and after he had broken his Faſt, he went into his Coach attended by the few Servants who were put about him, an went whither Cornet *Joyce* would Conduct him; there being no part of the Army known to be within twenty Mile of *Holmby* at that time; and that which adminiſter'd moſ cauſe of apprehenſion, was, that thoſe Officers who were o the Guard, declared "that the Squadron which was Commanded by *Joyce*, conſiſted not of Soldiers of any one Regiment, but were Men of ſeveral Troops, and ſeveral Regiments, drawn together under him, who was not the proper Officer; ſo that the King did in truth believe, that thei purpoſe was to carry him to ſome place where they migh more conveniently murther him. The Committee quickl gave notice to the Parliament of what had paſſed, with all th circumſtances; and it was receiv'd with all imaginable conſternation; nor could any Body imagine what the purpoſe an reſolution was.

The Committee give notice of it.

The General's Account of it to the Parliament.

NOR were they at the more eaſe, or in any degree pleaſe with the Account they receiv'd from the General himſelf who by his Letter, inform'd them; "that the Soldiers a "*Holmby* had brought the King from thence; and that h "Majeſty lay the next Night at Colonel *Montague*'s Houſe

"an

“ and would be the next day at *New Market* : that the Ground “ thereof was from an Apprehenſion of ſome ſtrength gather'd to force the King from thence ; whereupon he had “ ſent Colonel *Whaley*'s Regiment to meet the King. He proteſted, “ that his remove was without his conſent, or of the “ Officers about him, or of the Body of the Army, and without their deſire, or privity : that he would take care for the “ ſecurity of his Majeſty's Perſon from danger ; and aſſured the Parliament, “ that the whole Army endeavour'd Peace, “ and were far from oppoſing Presbytery, or affecting Independency, or from any purpoſe to maintain a Licentious “ freedom in Religion, or the Intereſt of any particular Party, “ but were reſolv'd to leave the abſolute determination of all “ to the Parliament.

IT was upon the third of *June* that the King was taken from *Holmby* by Cornet *Joyce*, well nigh a full year after he had deliver'd himſelf to the *Scots* at *Newark* ; in all which time, the Army had been at leiſure to contrive all ways to free it ſelf from the Servitude of the Parliament, whilſt the Presbyterians believ'd, that in ſpight of a few factious Independent Officers, it was entirely at their Devotion, and could never prove diſobedient to their Commands ; and thoſe few wiſe Men, who diſcern'd the foul deſigns of thoſe Officers, and by what degrees they ſtole the Hearts and Affections of the Soldiers, had not credit enough to be believ'd by their own Party. The joynt confidence of the unanimous Affection of the City of *London* to all their purpoſes, made them deſpiſe all oppoſition ; but now, when they ſaw the King taken out of their hands in this manner, and with theſe circumſtances, they found all their Meaſures broke by which they had form'd all their Counſels. And as this Letter from the General adminiſter'd too much cauſe of Jealouſy of what was to ſucceed, ſo a poſitive information about the ſame time by many Officers, confirm'd by a Letter which the Lord Mayor of *London* had receiv'd, that the whole Army was upon it's march, and would be in *London* the next day by noon, ſo diſtracted them that they appear'd beſides themſelves : however, they Voted, “ that the Houſes ſhould ſit all the next day, being “ *Sunday* ; and that M^{r} *Marſhall* ſhould be there to pray for “ them : That the Committee of Safety ſhould ſit up all that “ Night to conſider what was to be done : That the Lines of “ Communication ſhould be ſtrongly Guarded, and all the “ Train'd-bands of *London* ſhould be drawn together upon “ pain of death. All Shops were ſhut up, and ſuch a general Confuſion over all the Town, and in the faces of all Men, as if the Army had already enter'd the Town. The Parliament writ a Letter to the General, deſiring him, “ that no part of

Diſtractions at Weſtminſter *upon notice of the Armie's coming towards* London.

“the Army might come within five and twenty Miles of “ *London*; and that the King's Perſon might be deliver'd to “ the former Commiſſioners, who had attended upon his Majeſty at *Holmby*; and that Colonel *Roſſiter*, and his Regiment, might be appointed for the Guard of his Perſon. The General return'd for Anſwer, “ that the Army was come “ to S^t^ *Albans* before the deſire of the Parliament came to his “ hands; but that, in Obedience to their Commands, he would “ advance no farther; and deſir'd that a Month's pay might “ preſently be ſent for the Army. In which they deferr'd not to gratify them; though as to the redelivery of the King to the former Commiſſioners, no other Anſwer was return'd, than “ that they might reſt aſſured, that all care ſhould be “ taken for his Majeſty's ſecurity.

The King brought to Newmarket; *where He was allowed his Chaplains by the Army.*

FROM that time both *Cromwell* and *Ireton* appear'd in the Council of Officers, which they had never before done; and their Expoſtulations with the Parliament, begun to be more briſk, and contumacious than they had been. The King found himſelf at *Newmarket* attended by greater Troops and ſuperior Officers; ſo that he was preſently freed from any Subjection to M^r^ *Joyce*; which was no ſmall ſatisfaction to him; and they who were about him appear'd Men of better Breeding than the former, and paid his Majeſty all the reſpect imaginable, and ſeem'd to deſire to pleaſe him in all things. All reſtraint was taken off from Perſons reſorting to him, and he ſaw every day the Faces of many who were grateful to him; and he no ſooner deſired that ſome of his Chaplains might have leave to attend upon him for his Devotion, but it was yielded to, and they who were named by him (who were D^r^ *Sheldon*, D^r^ *Morley*, D^r^ *Sanderſon*, and D^r^ *Hammond*) were preſently ſent, and gave their attendance, and perform'd their Function at the ordinary hours, in their accuſtom'd Formalities; all Perſons who had a mind to it, being ſuffer'd to be preſent, to his Majeſty's infinite ſatisfaction; who begun to believe that the Army was not ſo much his Enemy as it was reported to be; and the Army had ſent an Addreſs to him full of proteſtation of Duty, and beſought him “ that he would be content, for ſome time, to “ reſide among them, until the Affairs of the Kingdom were “ put into ſuch a Poſture as he might find all things to his “ own content, and ſecurity; which they infinitely deſir'd to “ ſee aſſoon as might be; and to that purpoſe made daily in“ ſtances to the Parliament. In the mean time his Majeſty ſate ſtill, or remov'd to ſuch places as were moſt convenient for the March of the Army; being in all places as well provided for and Accommodated, as he had uſed to be in any Progreſs; the beſt Gentlemen of the ſeveral Counties through which

His Majeſty removes according to the marches of the Army.

which he paſſed, daily reſorted to him, without diſtinction; he was attended by ſome of his old Truſty Servants in the places neareſt his Perſon; and that which gave him moſt encouragement to believe that they meant well, was, that in the Army's Addreſs to the Parliament, they deſir'd “that care “might be taken for ſettling the King's Rights, according to “the ſeveral Profeſſions they had made in their Declarations; “and that the Royal Party might be treated with more Can“dour, and leſs Rigour; and many good Officers who had ſerv'd his Majeſty faithfully, were Civilly receiv'd by the Officers of the Army, and liv'd quietly in their Quarters; which they could not do any where elſe; which raiſed a great Reputation to the Army, throughout the Kingdom, and as much Reproach upon the Parliament.

THE Parliament at this time had recover'd its Spirit, when they ſaw the Army did not march nearer towards them, and not only ſtopp'd at S^t^ *Albans*, but was drawn back to a farther diſtance; which perſwaded them, that their General was diſpleaſed with the former advance: and ſo they proceeded with all paſſion, and vigour, againſt thoſe principal Officers, who, they knew, contrived all theſe Proceedings. They publiſhed Declarations to the Kingdom, “that they deſired to bring the “King in honour to his Parliament; which was their buſi“neſs from the beginning, and that he was detain'd Priſoner “againſt his Will in the Army; and that they had great rea“ſon to apprehend the ſafety of his Perſon. The Army, on the other hand, declared “that his Majeſty was neither “Priſoner, nor detain'd againſt his Will; and appeal'd to “his Majeſty himſelf, and to all his Friends, who had liberty “to repair to him, whether he had not more liberty, and was “not treated with more reſpect, ſince he came into the Army “than he had been at *Holmby*, or during the time he remain'd “in thoſe places, and with that retinue that the Parliament “had appointed? The City ſeem'd very unanimouſly devoted to the Parliament, and incenſed againſt the Army; and ſeem'd reſolute, not only with their Train'd-bands and Auxiliary Regiments to aſſiſt, and defend the Parliament, but appointed ſome of the Old Officers who had ſerv'd under the Earl of *Eſſex*, and had been disbanded under the new Model, as *Waller*, *Maſſey*, and others, to liſt new Forces; towards which there was not like to be want of Men out of their old Forces, and ſuch of the King's as would be glad of the employment. There was nothing they did really fear ſo much, as that the Army would make a firm conjunction with the King, and unite with his Party, of which there was ſo much ſhew; and many unskilful Men, who wiſhed it, bragg'd too much; and therefore the Parliament ſent a Committee to his Majeſty, with an

Tranſactions in the City upon thoſe occaſions.

Addreſs of another Style than they had lately uſed, with many profeſſions of Duty; and declaring, "that if he was not, in "all reſpects, treated as he ought to be, and as he deſired, it "was not Their fault, who deſired he might be at full liberty, "and do what he would; hoping that the King would have been induced to deſire to come to *London*, and to make complaint of the Army's having taken him from *Holmby*; by which they believ'd the King's Party would be diſabuſed, and withdraw their hopes of any good from the Army; and then, they thought, they ſhould be hard enough for them.

THE King was in great doubt how to carry himſelf; he thought himſelf ſo barbarouſly uſed by the Presbyterians, and had ſo ill an opinion of all the principal Perſons who govern'd them, that he had no mind to put himſelf into their hands. On the other ſide, he was far from being ſatisfied with the Army's good intentions towards him; and though many of his Friends were ſuffer'd to reſort to him, they found that their being long about him, would not be acceptable; and though the Officers and Soldiers appear'd, for the moſt part, civil to him, they were all at leaſt as vigilant, as the former Guards had been; ſo that he could not, without great difficulty, have got from them if he had deſired it. *Fairfax* had been with him, and kiſs'd his hand, and made ſuch Profeſſions as he could well utter; which was with no advantage in the delivery; his Authority was of no uſe, becauſe he reſign'd himſelf entirely to *Cromwell*; who had been, and *Ireton* likewiſe, with the King, without either of them offering to kiſs his hand; otherwiſe, they behaved themſelves with good manners towards him. His Majeſty uſed all the Addreſs he could towards them to draw ſome promiſe from them, but they were ſo reſerv'd, and ſtood ſo much upon their Guard, and uſed ſo few words, that nothing could be concluded from what they ſaid: they excuſed themſelves "for not ſeeing his Majeſty often, upon "the great jealouſies the Parliament had of them, towards "whom they profeſs'd all fidelity. The Perſons who reſorted to his Majeſty, and brought Advices from others who durſt not yet offer to come themſelves, brought ſeveral opinions to him; ſome thinking the Army would deal ſincerely with his Majeſty, others expecting no better from them than they afterwards perform'd: ſo that the King well concluded that he would neither reject the Parliament Addreſſes by any neglect, nor diſoblige the Army by appearing to have jealouſy of them, or a deſire to be out of their hands; which he could hardly have effected, if he had known a better place to have reſorted to. So he deſired both Parties "to haſten their Conſultati"ons, that the Kingdom might enjoy Peace and Happineſs; "in which he ſhould not be without a ſhare; and he would “pray to God to bring this to paſs aſſoon as was poſſible.

THE News of the King's being in the Army, of his freedom in the exerciſe of his Religion, which he had been ſo long without, and that ſome of his Servants, with whom he was well pleaſed, had liberty to attend upon him, made every Body abroad, as well as thoſe at home, hope well; and the King himſelf writ to the Queen, as if he thought his condition much better than it had been among the *Scots*. Sr *John Berkley* after his Surrender of *Exeter*, and the ſpending his ſix Months allowed by the Articles to ſollicite his Affairs where he would, had Tranſported himſelf into *France*, and waited upon the Queen at *Paris*, being ſtill a Menial Servant to her Majeſty, and having a Friend in that Court that govern'd, and loved him better than any Body elſe did. Aſſoon as the reports came thither of the King's being with the Army, he repeated many Diſcourſes he had held with the Officers of the Army, whilſt they treated with him of the delivery of *Exeter*; how he had told them, “upon how ſlippery ground “they ſtood; that the Parliament, when they had ſerved their “turn, would diſmiſs them with reproach, and give them “very ſmall rewards for the great Service they had done for “them; that they ſhould do well, ſeaſonably to think of a “ſafe retreat, which could be no where but under the Protection of the King; who by their Courage was brought very “low; and if they raiſed him again, he muſt owe it all to “them; and his Poſterity, as well as himſelf, and all his Party, muſt for ever acknowledge it; by which they would “raiſe their Fortunes, as well as their Fame, to the greateſt “degree Men could aime at; which, he ſaid, made ſuch an impreſſion upon this and that Officer, whom he named, “that “they told him at parting, that they ſhould never forget what “he had ſaid to them; and that they already obſerv'd that “every day produced ſomewhat that would put them in mind “of it. In a word, “he had foretold all that was ſince come “to paſs, and he was moſt confident, that, if he were now “with them, he ſhould be welcome, and have Credit enough “to bring them to reaſon, and to do the King great Service; and offer'd, without any delay, to make the Journey. The Queen believ'd all he ſaid; and they who did not, were very willing he ſhould make the experiment; for he that lov'd him beſt, was very willing to be without him; and ſo receiving the Queen's Letter of Recommendation of him to the King, who knew him very little, and that little not without ſome prejudice, he left *Paris*, and made all poſſible haſt into *England*. *John Aſhburnham*, who was driven from the King by the *Scots* after he had Conducted his Majeſty to them, had Tranſported himſelf into *France*, and was at this time reſiding

Sir John Berkley *ſent from th* *Queen to th* *King.*

in *Roan*; having found, upon his Addreſs to the Queen at *Paris* upon his firſt Arrival, that his abode in ſome other place would not be ungrateful to her Majeſty, and ſo he removed to *Roan*; where he had the ſociety of many who had ſerv'd the King in the moſt eminent Qualifications. When he heard where the King was, and that there was not the ſame reſtraint that had been formerly, he reſolv'd to make an adventure to wait on him; having no reaſon to doubt but that his Preſence would be very acceptable to the King; and though the other Envoy from *Paris*, and He, did not make their Journey into *England* together, nor had the leaſt Communication with each other, being in truth of ſeveral Parties and Purpoſes, yet they Arriv'd there, and at the Army, near the ſame time.

Mr Aſh-ournham *omes from rance to he King.*

Berkley firſt applied himſelf to thoſe ſubordinate Officers with whom he had ſome acquaintance at *Exeter*, and they informing their Superiors of his Arrival, and Application, they were well pleaſed that he was come. They were well acquainted with his Talent, and knew his Foible, that, by flattering and commending, they might govern him; and that there was no danger of any deep deſign from his contrivance; and ſo they permitted him freely to attend the King, about whoſe Perſon he had no Title, or Relation, which required any conſtant waiting upon him.

ir John erkley *and* Mr Aſh-urnham's *ranſactions ith ſome fficers of he Army.*

Ashburnham had, by ſome Friends, a recommendation both to *Cromwell*, and *Ireton*, who knew the Credit he had with the King, and that his Majeſty would be very well pleaſed to have his attendance, and look upon it as a Teſtimony of their reſpect to him. They knew likewiſe that he was an implacable Enemy to the *Scots*, and no Friend to the other Presbyterians, and though he had ſome ordinary craft in inſinuating, he was of no deep and piercing Judgement to diſcover what was not unwarily expoſed, and a free Speaker of what he imagined: So they likewiſe left him at liberty to repair to the King; and theſe two Gentlemen came near about the ſame time to his Majeſty, when the Army was drawing together, with a purpoſe, which was not yet publiſh'd, of marching to *London*; his Majeſty being ſtill Quarter'd in thoſe places which were more proper for that purpoſe.

They were both welcome to his Majeſty, the one bringing a ſpecial recommendation from the Queen, and, to make himſelf the more valuable, aſſuring his Majeſty "that he was "ſent for by the Officers of the Army, as one they would "truſt, and that they had receiv'd him with open Armes; "and, without any ſcruple, gave him leave to wait upon him: The other, needed no recommendation, the King's own inclinations diſpoſing him to be very gracious to him; and ſo his Majeſty wiſh'd them "to correſpond with each other, and "to converſe with his ſeveral Friends, who did not yet think "fit to reſort to him; and to receive their advice; to diſcover "as much as they could of the Intentions of both Parties, and "impart what was fit to the King, till, upon a farther diſcovery, his Majeſty might better judge what to do. Theſe two were the principal Agents (they conferring with all his Majeſty's Friends, and, as often as they deſired, with the Officers of the Army) upon whoſe Information, and Advice, his Majeſty principally depended, though they rarely conferr'd together with the ſame Perſons, and never with any of the Officers, who pretended not to truſt one another enough to ſpeak with that freedom before each other, as they would to one of them; and their acquaintance among the Officers not being principally with the ſame Men, their Informations and Advices were often very different, and more perplexed than informed his Majeſty.

The different deſigns of the Parliament and Army at this time relating to the King.

THE very high Conteſts between the Parliament and the Army, in which neither ſide could be perſwaded to yield to the other, or abate any of their aſperity, made many Prudent Men believe that both ſides would, in the end, be willing to make the King the Umpire; which neither of them ever intended to do. The Parliament thought that their Name and Authority, which had carried them through ſo great undertakings, and reduced the whole Kingdom to their Obedience, could not be overpower'd by their own Army, raiſed and paid by themſelves, and to whoſe Dictates the People would never ſubmit. They thought the King's Preſence amongſt them, gave them all their preſent Reputation; and were not without apprehenſion that the Ambition of ſome of the Officers, and their Malice to the Parliament, when they ſaw that they could obtain their ends no other way, might diſpoſe them to an entire Conjunction with the King's Party and Intereſt; and then, all the Penalties of Treaſon, Rebellion, and Treſpaſſes, muſt be diſcharged at their coſts; and therefore they labour'd, by all the publick and private means they could, to perſwade the King to own his being detain'd Priſoner by the Army againſt his Will, or to withdraw himſelf by ſome way from them, and repair to *White-Hall*; and, in either of thoſe Caſes, they did not doubt, firſt, to divide the Army (for they ſtill believ'd the General faſt to them) and by degrees to bring them to reaſon, and to be diſbanded, as many as were not neceſſary for the Service of *Ireland*; and then, having the King to themſelves, and all his Party being obnoxious to thoſe penalties for their Delinquency, they ſhould be well able, by gratifying ſome of the greateſt Perſons of the Nobility with Immunity and Indemnity, to ſettle the Government in ſuch a manner, as to be well recompenſed for all the Adventures they had made, and hazards they had run.

On the other hand, the Army had no dread of the Authority and Power of the Parliament; which they knew had been ſo far proſtituted, that it had loſt moſt of its Reverence with the People. But it had great apprehenſion, that, by its conjunction with the City, it might indeed recover Credit with the Kingdom, and withhold the pay of the Army, and thereby make ſome diviſion amongſt them; and if the Perſon of the King ſhould be likewiſe with them, and thereby his Party ſhould likewiſe joyn with them, they ſhould be to begin their work again, or to make their Peace with thoſe who were as much provoked by them as the King himſelf had been. And therefore they were ſenſible that they enjoyed a preſent benefit by the King's being with them, and by their treating him with the outward reſpect that was due to his Majeſty, and the civilities they made profeſſion of towards all his Party, and the permiſſion of his Chaplains, and other Servants, to reſort to him; and cultivated all theſe Artifices with great Addreſs, ſuppreſſing, or diſcountenancing the Tyranny of the Presbyterians in the Country Committees, and all other places, where they exerciſed notable rigour againſt all who had been of the King's Party, or not enough of theirs (for Neuters found no excuſe for being of no Party) when they found it fit to make any luſty Declaration againſt the Parliament, and exclaim againſt their Tyrannical proceedings againſt the Army, they always inſerted ſomewhat that might look like Candour and Tenderneſs towards the King's Party, complain'd of "the "Affront, and Indignity done to the Army by the Parlia"ment's not obſerving the Articles which had been made "upon Surrender of Garriſons, but proceeding againſt thoſe "on whoſe behalf thoſe Articles were made, with more ſeve"rity than was agreeable to juſtice, and to the intention of "the Articles; whereby the Honour and Faith of the Army "ſuffer'd, and was complain'd of; all which, they ſaid, they "would have remedied. Whereupon many hoped that they ſhould be excuſed from making any Compoſitions, and entertain'd ſuch other imaginations as pleaſed themſelves, and the other Party well liked; knowing they could demoliſh all thoſe Structures aſſoon as they receiv'd no benefit by them themſelves.

The King had, during the time he ſtay'd at *Holmby*, writ to the Houſe of Peers, that his Children might have leave to come to him, and to reſide for ſome time with him. From the time that *Oxford* had been Surrender'd, upon which the Duke of *York* had fallen into their hands, for they would by no means admit that he ſhould have liberty to go to ſuch place as the King ſhould direct, which was very earneſtly preſſed, and inſiſted on by the Lords of the Council there, as long as they could; but appointed their Committee to receive him with all reſpect, and to bring him to *London*; from that time, I ſay, the Duke of *York* was committed to the care of the Earl of *Northumberland*, together with the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the Princeſs, who had been by the King left under the Tuition of the Counteſs of *Dorſet*, but from the Death of that Counteſs the Parliament had preſumed, that they might be ſure to keep them in their power, to put them into the Cuſtody of the Lady *Vere*, an old Lady much in their favour, but not at all Ambitious of that Charge, though there was a competent Allowance aſſign'd for their ſupport. They were now remov'd from her, and placed all together with the Earl of *Northumberland*, who receiv'd, and treated them, in all reſpects, as was ſuitable to their Birth, and his own Duty; but could give them no more liberty to go abroad, than he was, in his Inſtructions from the Parliament, permitted to do; and they had abſolutely refuſed to gratify the King in that particular; of which his Majeſty no ſooner took notice to *Fairfax*, than he writ a Letter to the Parliament, "that the "King much deſir'd to have the ſight and company of his "Children, and that if they might not be allow'd to be longer "with him, that at leaſt they might dine with him; and he ſent them word that, on ſuch a day, "the King, who attend-"ed the motion of the Army, and was Quarter'd only where "they pleaſed, would dine at *Maidenhead*. There his Children met him, to his infinite content and joy; and he being to Quarter and ſtay ſome time at *Caverſham*, a Houſe of the Lord *Craven*'s, near *Reading*, his Children were likewiſe ſuffer'd to go thither, and remain'd with him two days; which was the greateſt ſatisfaction the King could receive; and the receiving whereof, he imputed to the Civility of the General, and the good diſpoſition of the Army; which made ſo much the more impreſſion upon him, in that he had never made any one Propoſition in which he had been gratified, where the Presbyterian Spirit had power to deny it.

The King allow'd to ſee his Children at Maidenhead *and* Caverſham.

In the Houſe of Commons, which was now the Scene of all the Action that diſpleaſed and incenſed the Army (for the Houſe of Peers was ſhrunk into ſo inconſiderable a Number, and their Perſons not conſiderable after the Death of the Earl of *Eſſex*, except thoſe who were affected to, or might be diſpoſed by the Army) they were wholely guided by *Hollis*, and *Stapleton*, *Lewis*, and *Glyn*, who had been very Popular and Notorious from the beginning, and by *Waller*, and *Maſſey*, and *Brown*, who had Serv'd in Commands in the Army, and perform'd at ſome times very ſignal Service, and were exceed-

ingly belov'd in the City, and two or three others who fol
low'd their Dictates, and were ſubſervient to their Directions
Theſe were all Men of Parts, Intereſt, and ſignal Courage
and did not only heartily abhor the intentions which the
diſcern'd the Army to have, and that it was wholely to b
diſpoſed according to the deſigns of *Cromwell*, but had like
wiſe declared Animoſities againſt the Perſons of the mo
active and powerful Officers; as *Hollis* had one day, upon
very hot debate in the Houſe, and ſome rude expreſſion
which fell from *Ireton*, perſwaded him to walk out of th
Houſe with him, and then told him, "that he ſhould pre
"ſently go over the Water and Fight with him. *Ireton* re
plying, "his Conſcience would not ſuffer him to fight a Duel
Hollis, in choler, pulled him by the Noſe; telling him, "
"his Conſcience would keep him from giving Men ſatiſ
"faction, it ſhould keep him from provoking them. This af
front to the third Perſon of the Army, and to a Man of th
moſt Virulent, Malicious, and Revengeful Nature of all th
Pack, ſo incenſed the whole Party, that they were reſolv'
one way or other to be rid of him, who had that power i
the Houſe, and that Reputation abroad, that when he coul
not abſolutely controle their deſigns, he did ſo obſtruct them
that they could not advance to any concluſion.

The Army impeach eleven Members of the Houſe of Commons.

THEY reſorted therefore to an expedient, which, they ha
obſerv'd, by the Conduct of thoſe very Men againſt whon
they meant to apply it, had brought to paſs all that they de
ſired; and, in the Council of Officers, prepared an impeach
ment of High Treaſon in general Terms againſt Mr *Holli*
and the Perſons mention'd before, and others, to the numbe
of eleven Members of the Houſe of Commons. This impeach
ment twelve Officers of the Army, Colonels, Lieutenant Co
lonels, Majors, and Captains, preſented to the Houſe; an
within few days after, when they ſaw the ſame Members ſti
inveigh againſt and arraign their proceedings, the Gener
and Officers writ a Letter to the Houſe, "that they wou
"appoint fit Perſons on their and the Kingdom's behalf,
"make good the charge againſt thoſe Members whom th
"had accuſed; and that they deſired, that thoſe Members in
"peach'd might be forthwith ſuſpended from ſitting in th
"Houſe; ſince it could not be thought fit that the ſame Pe
"ſons who had ſo much injured and provoked the Arm
"ſhould ſit Judges of their own Actions. This was an Arro
that the Houſe of Commons did not expect would have be
ſhot out of that Quiver; and though they were unſpeakab
diſmay'd, and diſtracted with this preſumption, they anſwer
poſitively, "that they neither would, nor could, ſequeſt
"thoſe Members from the Houſe, who had never ſaid,

"do

“done any thing in the Houſe worthy of Cenſure, till proof “were made of ſuch particulars as might render them guilty. But the Officers of the Army reply'd, “that they could prove “them guilty of ſuch practices in the Houſe, that it would “be juſt in the Houſe to ſuſpend them: that by the Laws of “the Land, and the Precedents of Parliament, the Lords had, “upon the very preſentation of a general Accuſation without “being reduced in form, ſequeſter'd from their Houſe and “committed the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Arch-Biſhop of “*Canterbury*; and therefore they muſt preſs, and inſiſt upon “the ſuſpending at leaſt of thoſe accuſed Members from being preſent in the Houſe, where they ſtood impeach'd; and “without this, they ſaid, the Army would not be ſatisfied. However the Houſe of Commons ſeem'd ſtill reſolute, the ccuſed Members themſelves, who beſt knew their temper, hought it ſafer for them to retire, and by forbearing to appear n the Houſe, to allay the heat of the preſent Conteſt.

UPON this ſo palpable Declenſion of Spirit in the Houſe, he Army ſeem'd much quieter, and reſolv'd to ſet other Agents on their work, that they might not appear too buſy and ctive upon their own concernment. It is very true that the City, upon whoſe influence the Parliament much depended, ppear'd now entirely Presbyterian; the Court of Aldermen, nd Common Council, conſiſted chiefly of Men of that Spi-it; the Militia of the City was committed to Commiſſioners arefully and factiouſly choſen of that Party; all thoſe of an-ther temper having been put out of thoſe Truſts, at or about ne time that the King was deliver'd up by the *Scots*, when the Officers of the Army were content that the Presbyterians hould believe, that the whole power of the Kingdom was in hem; and that they might ſettle what Government they leas'd: If there remain'd any Perſons in any of thoſe im-loyments in the City, it was by their diſſimulation, and pre-ending to have other Affections; moſt of thoſe who were otorious to be of any other Faction in Religion, had been ut out; and liv'd as neglected and diſcountenanced Men; ho ſeem'd rather to depend upon the Clemency, and Indul-ence of the State, for their particular liberty in the exerciſe f that Religion they adhered to, than to have any hope or nbition to be again admitted into any ſhare, or part in the overnment: yet, after all this diſſimulation, *Cromwell* and *eton* well knew, that the multitude of inferior People were their diſpoſal, and would appear in any conjuncture they ould think convenient; and that many Aldermen and ſub-antial Citizens were quiet, and appear'd not to contradict or ppoſe the Presbyterians, only by their directions; and would ready upon their call. And now, when they ſaw thoſe

The temper of the City and the Changes of their Militia at this time.

leading Men, who had govern'd the Parliament, proſecuted by the Army, and that they forbore to come to the Houſe, there flocked together great Numbers of the loweſt, and moſt inferior People, to the Parliament, with Petitions of ſeveral Natures, both with reference to Religion, and to the Civil Government; with the noiſe and clamour whereof, the Parliament was ſo offended and diſturbed, that they made an Ordinance, “that it ſhould be Criminal to gather, and ſollicite the Subſcriptions of hands to Petitions. But this Order ſo offended all parties, that they were compell'd, within two days, to revoke it, and to leave all Men to their natural Liberty. Whilſt this Confuſion was in the City and Parliament, the Commiſſioners, which had been ſent to the Army to treat with the Officers, had no better ſucceſs; but return'd with the poſitive and declared Reſolution of the Army, “that “a Declaration ſhould be publiſh'd by the Parliament againſt “the coming in of Forreign Force: for they apprehended, or rather were willing that the People ſhould apprehend, a new Combination by the *Scots*: “that the pay of the Army ſhould “be put into a conſtant Courſe, and all Perſons who had re“ceiv'd Money, ſhould be called to an account: That the Mi“litia of *London* ſhould be put into the hands of Perſons well “affected, and thoſe who had been formerly truſted: that all “Perſons impriſon'd for pretended Miſdemeanours, by Order “of Parliament, or their Committees, might be ſet at Li“berty; and, if upon tryal they ſhould be found Innocent, “that they might have good Reparation. And they particularly mention'd *John Lilburn*, *Overton*, and other Anabaptiſts and Fanaticks, who had been committed by the Parliament for many Seditious Meetings, under pretence of Exerciſe of their Religion, and many inſolent Actions againſt the Government. Upon the report of theſe demands, the Parliament grew more enraged; and Voted, “that the yielding to “the Army in theſe particulars, would be againſt their Ho“nour, and their Intereſt, and deſtructive to their Privileges with many expreſſions againſt their preſumption, and inſolence: yet, when a new Rabble of Petitioners demanded with loud Cries, moſt of the ſame things, they were willing to compound with them; and conſented that the Militia o the City of *London* ſhould be put into ſuch hands as the Army ſhould deſire.

THE Militia of the City had been in the beginning o *May*, ſhortly after the King's being brought to *Holmby*, ſettled with the conſent, and upon the deſire, of the Commo Council, by Ordinance of Parliament, in the hands of Commiſſioners, who were generally of the Presbyterian Party they who were of other inclinations being remov'd; and, a is ſaid before, ſeem'd not diſpleaſed at their diſgrace; and now, when upon the Declaration and Demands of the Army, ſeconded by clamorous Petitions, they ſaw this Ordinance reverſed, in *July*, without ſo much as conſulting with the Common Council according to cuſtome, the City was exceedingly ſtartled; and ſaid, “that if the Imperious Com-“mand of the Army, could prevail with the Parliament to “reverſe ſuch an Ordinance as that of the Militia, they had “reaſon to apprehend they might as well repeal the other Or-“dinances for the ſecurity of Money, or for the purchaſe of “Biſhops and Church Lands, or whatſoever elſe that was the “proper ſecurity of the Subject. And therefore they cauſed a Petition to be prepared in the name of the City, to be preſented by the two Sheriffs, and others deputed by the Common Council to that purpoſe. But, before they were ready, many thouſands, Apprentices and young Citizens, brought Petitions to the Parliament; in which they ſaid, “that the “Command of the Militia of the City was the Birth-right of “the City, and belonged to them by ſeveral Charters which “had been confirm'd in Parliament; for defence whereof, they “ſaid, they had ventur'd their Lives as far and as frankly as “the Army had done; and therefore, they deſir'd that the “Ordinance of Parliament of the fourth of *May*, which had “paſſed with their conſent, might ſtand inviolable. They firſt preſented their Petition to the Houſe of Peers, who immediately revoked their late Ordinance of *July*, and confirm'd their former of *May*; and ſent it down to the Commons for their conſent; who durſt not deny their concurrence, the Apprentices behaving themſelves ſo inſolently, that they would ſcarce ſuffer the door of the Houſe of Commons to be ſhut; and ſome of them went into the Houſe.

A tumultuous Petition of Apprentices, and others, to both Houſes concerning their Militia.

AND in this manner the Ordinance was reverſed that had been made at the deſire of the Army, and the other of *May* ratified and confirm'd; which was no ſooner done than the Parliament adjourn'd till *Friday*, that they might have two or three days to conſider how they ſhould behave themſelves, and prevent the like violences hereafter. The Army had quickly notice of theſe extraordinary proceedings, and the General writ a very ſharp Letter to the Parliament from *Bedford*; in which he put them in mind, “how civilly the Army had “complied with their deſire, by removing to a greater di-“ſtance, upon preſumption that their own Authority would “have been able to have ſecured them from any rudeneſs, “and violence of the People; which it was now evident it “could not do, by the unparallel'd violation of all their Privi-“leges, on the *Monday* before, by a Multitude from the City, “which had been encouraged by ſeveral Common Council

Upon this the General writ a very ſharp Letter to the Parliament.

"Men, and other Citizens in Authority; which was an Ac
"ſo prodigious and horrid as muſt diſſolve all Governmen
"if not ſeverely and exemplarily chaſtiſed: that the Arm
"looked upon themſelves as accountable to the Kingdom, i
"this unheard of outrage, by which the Peace and ſettlemen
"of the Nation, and the relief of *Ireland*, had been ſo notoriouſly
"interrupted, ſhould not be ſtrictly examined, an
"juſtice ſpeedily done upon the Offenders. Upon *Friday*, t
which both Houſes had adjourn'd, the Members came together,
in as full Numbers as they had uſed to meet, there being
above one hundred and forty of the Houſe of Commons
but, after they had ſate ſome time in expectation of thei
Speaker, they were inform'd that he was gone out of th
Town early that Morning; and they obſerv'd that Sr *Henr*
Vane, and ſome few other Members who uſed to concur wi
him, were likewiſe abſent. The Houſe of Peers found likewiſe
that the Earl of *Mancheſter*, their Speaker, had withdraw
himſelf, together with the Earl of *Northumberland*, and ſom
other Lords; but the Major part ſtill remain'd there, full o
Indignation againſt thoſe who were abſent, and who they al
concluded were gone to the Army. Hereupon both Houſe
choſe new Speakers; who accepted the Office; and the Commons
preſently voted, "that the eleven Members who ſtoo
"impeach'd by the Army, and had diſcontinued coming t
"the Houſe, ſhould preſently appear, and take their places
They made an Ordinance of Parliament, by which a Committee
of ſafety was appointed to joyn with the City Militi
and had Authority to raiſe Men for the defence of the Parliament;
which they appear'd ſo vigorouſly reſolv'd on, that n
Man in the Houſes, or in the City, ſeem'd to intend any thin
elſe. The News of this rouſed up the Army, and the General
preſently ſent a good Party of Horſe into *Windſor*, an
marched himſelf to *Uxbridge*, and appointed a general Rendezvous
for the whole Army upon *Hounſlow* Heath, withi
two days; when and where there appear'd twenty thouſan
Foot and Horſe, with a Train of Artillery, and all othe
proviſions proportionable to ſuch an Army.

The two Speakers, with other Members of the two Houſes, withdrew to the Army.

Both Houſes choſe new Speakers; and their Votes.

Rendezvous of the Army appointed on Hounſlow *Heath, and the King removed to* Hampton *Court.*

AS SOON as the Rendezvous was appointed at *Hounſlo*
Heath, at the ſame time the King removed to *Hampto*
Court; which was prepared, and put into as good order f
his reception, as could have been done in the beſt time. Th
Houſes ſeem'd for ſome time to retain their Spirit and Vigou
and the City talked of liſting Men, and defending themſelve
and not ſuffering the Army to approach nearer to them; bu
when they knew the day of the Rendezvous, thoſe in bot
Houſes who had been too weak to carry any thing, and ſo ha
look'd on whilſt ſuch Votes were paſſed as they liked not an

could not oppoſe, now when their Friend the Army was ſo near, recover'd their Spirits, and talk'd very loud; and perſwaded the reſt, "to think in time of making their peace "with the Army, that could not be withſtood. And the City grew every day more appalled, irreſolute, and confounded, one Man propoſing this, and another ſomewhat contrary to that, like Men amazed and diſtracted. When the Army met upon *Hounſlow* Heath at their Rendezvous, the Speakers of both Houſes, who had privately before met with the Chief Officers of the Army, appear'd there with their Maces, and ſuch other Members as accompanied them; complaining to the General, "that they had not freedom at *Weſtminſter*, but "were in danger of their lives by the Tumults; and appealed to the Army for their protection.

Both Speakers, and the other Members, appear in the Army on Hounſlow Heath.

THIS looked like a new Act of Providence to vindicate the Army from all reproaches, and to juſtify them in all they had done, as abſolutely done for the preſervation of the Parliament and Kingdom. If this had been a retreat of Sr *Harry Vane* and ſome other diſcontented Men, who were known to be Independents, and Fanaticks in their opinions in Religion, and of the Army faction, who being no longer able to oppoſe the wiſdom of the Parliament, had fled to their Friends for protection from Juſtice, they would have got no reputation, nor the Army been thought the better of for their Company; but neither of the Speakers were ever look'd upon as inclined to the Army; *Lenthall* was generally believ'd to have no malice towards the King, and not to be without good inclinations to the Church; and the Earl of *Mancheſter*, who was Speaker of the Houſe of Peers, was known to have all the prejudice imaginable againſt *Cromwell*; and had formerly accuſed him of want of Duty to the Parliament; and the other hated him above all Men, and deſired to have taken away his life. The Earl of *Mancheſter*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, were the two Pillars of the Presbyterian Party; and that they two, with the Earl of *Northumberland*, and ſome other of the Lords, and ſome of the Commons, who had appear'd to diſapprove all the proceedings of the Army, ſhould now joyn with Sr *Harry Vane*, and Appeal to the Army for protection, with that formality as if they had brought the whole Parliament with them, and had been entirely driven and forced away by the City, appear'd to every ſtander by ſo ſtupendious a thing, that it is not to this day underſtood otherwiſe, than that they were reſolv'd to have their particular ſhares in the Treaty, which they believ'd the Chief Officers of the Army to have near concluded with the King. For that they never intended to put the whole power into the hands of the Army, nor had any kindneſs to, or confidence in the Officers thereof, was very apparent by their carriage and behaviour after, as well as before; and if they had continued together, conſidering how much the City was devoted to them, it is probable that the Army would not have uſed any force; which might have receiv'd a fatal repulſe; but that ſome good Compromiſe might have been made by the Interpoſition of the King. But this Schiſm carried all the Reputation and Authority to the Army, and left none in the Parliament; for though it preſently appear'd, that the Number of thoſe who left the Houſes was ſmall in compariſon of thoſe who remain'd behind, and who proceeded with the ſame Vigour in declaring againſt the Army, and the City ſeem'd as reſolute in putting themſelves into a poſture, and preparing for their defence, all their Works and Fortifications being ſtill entire, ſo that they might have put the Army to great trouble if they had ſteadily purſued their Reſolutions (which they did not ſeem in any degree to decline) yet this rent made all the accuſed Members, who were the Men of parts, and reputation to conduct their Counſels, to withdraw themſelves upon the aſtoniſhment ; ſome concealing themſelves, till they had opportunity to make their Peace, and others withdrawing and tranſporting themſelves beyond the Seas ; whereof *Stapleton* died at *Calais* aſſoon as he Landed; and was denied Burial, upon imagination that he had died of the Plague: others remain'd a long time beyond the Seas ; and, though they long after return'd, never were receiv'd into any truſt in thoſe times, nor in truth concurr'd, or acted in the publick Affairs, but retired to their own Eſtates, and liv'd very privately.

THE Chief Officers of the Army receiv'd the two Speakers, and the Members who accompanied them, as ſo many Angels ſent from Heaven for their good ; paid them all the reſpect imaginable, and profeſſed all ſubmiſſion to them, as to the Parliament of *England*; and declared “that they would “reeſtabliſh them in their full power, or periſh in the attempt; took very particular care for their accommodations, before the General ; and aſſign'd a Guard to wait upon them for their ſecurity ; acquainted them with all their conſultations; and would not preſume to reſolve any thing without their approbation , and they had too much modeſty to think they could do amiſs, who had proſper'd ſo much in all their undertakings. No time was loſt in purſuing their Reſolution to eſtabliſh the Parliament again at *Weſtminſter* ; and finding that the reſt of the Members continued ſtill to ſit there with the ſame Formality, and that the City did not abate any of their Spirit, they ſeem'd to make a halt, and to remain quiet, in expectation of a better underſtanding between them, upon the

Meſſages they every day ſent to the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen, and Common Council (for of thoſe at *Weſtminſter* they took no notice) and Quarter'd their Army about *Brentford*, and *Hounſlow*, *Twittenham*, and the adjacent Villages, without reſtraining any Proviſions, which every day according to cuſtom were carried to *London*, or doing the leaſt Action that might diſoblige, or diſpleaſe the City; the Army being in truth under ſo excellent diſcipline, that no body could complain of any damage ſuſtain'd by them, or any provocation by word or deed. However, in this calm, they ſent over Colonel *Rainsborough* with a Brigade of Horſe and Foot, and Cannon, at *Hampton* Court, to poſſeſs *Southwark*, and thoſe works which ſecured that end of *London* Bridge; which he did with ſo little Noiſe, that in one Night's March, he found himſelf Maſter without any oppoſition, not only of the Borough of *Southwark*, but of all the Works and Forts which were to defend it; the Soldiers within, ſhaking hands with thoſe without, and refuſing to obey their Officers which were to Command them: So that the City, without knowing that any ſuch thing was in agitation, found in the morning that all that Avenue to the Town was poſſeſſed by the Enemy; whom they were providing to reſiſt on the other ſide, being as confident of this that they had loſt, as of any Gate of the City.

THIS ſtruck them dead; and put an end to all their Conſultation for defence; and put other thoughts into their heads, how they might pacify thoſe whom they had ſo much offended, and provoked; and how they might preſerve their City from Plunder, and the fury of an enraged Army. They who had ever been of the Army party, and of late had ſhut themſelves up, and not dared to walk the Streets for fear of the People, came now confidently amongſt them, and mingled in their Councils; declared, "that the King and the Army were "now agreed in all particulars, and that both Houſes were "now with the Army, and had preſented themſelves to the "King; ſo that to oppoſe the Army would be to oppoſe the "King and Parliament, and to incenſe them as much as the "Army. Upon ſuch confident diſcourſes and inſinuations from thoſe with whom they would not have converſed, or given the leaſt credit to, three days before, or rather upon the confuſion and general diſtraction they were in, they ſent ſix Aldermen and ſix Commoners to the General; who lamented and complain'd, "that the City ſhould be ſuſpected, that had "never acted any thing againſt the Parliament; and there-"fore, they deſired him to forbear doing any thing that might "be the occaſion of a new War. But the General little conſider'd this Meſſage, and gave leſs countenance to the Meſſengers; but continued his ſlow marches towards the City:

The City ſends ſix A- dermen to the General and ſubmit whereupon they ſent an humble Meſſage to him, "that ſince "they underſtood that the reaſon of his march ſo near ***London*** "was to reſtore, and ſettle the Members (the Lords and Commons) of Parliament to the Liberty and Privilege of ſitting "ſecurely in their ſeveral Houſes (to which the City would "contribute all their power, and ſervice) they prayed him, "with all ſubmiſſion, that he would be pleaſed to ſend ſuch a "Guard of Horſe and Foot as he thought to be ſufficient for "that purpoſe; and that the Ports and all Paſſages ſhould be "open to them; and they ſhould do any thing elſe that his "Excellency would Command. To which, he made no other Anſwer but "that he would have all the Forts of the Weſt "ſide of the City to be deliver'd immediately to him; thoſe of the other ſide being already, as is ſaid, in the hands of ***Rainsborough*** and his other Officers. The Common Council, that ſate Day and Night, upon the receipt of this Meſſage, without any pauſe return'd "that they would humbly ſub- "mit to his Command; and that now, under Almighty God, "they did rely only upon his Excellency's honourable word "for their protection, and ſecurity. And ſo they cauſed their Militia to be forthwith drawn off from the Line, as well as out of the Forts, with all their Cannon and Ordnance; and the General appointed a better Guard to both. At *Hyde* Park the Mayor and Aldermen met him, and humbly congratulated his arrival; and beſought him "to excuſe what they had, "out of their good meaning and deſire of Peace, done amiſs; and as a Teſtimony of their Affection and Duty, the Mayor, on the behalf of the City, preſented a great gold Cup to the General; which he ſullenly refuſed to receive, and, with very little Ceremony, diſmiſſed them.

The General conducts the two Speakers and other Members to their ſeveral Houſes of Parliament.

HE himſelf waited upon the two Speakers, and conducted them, and their Members, to the ſeveral Houſes, where the other Members were then ſitting, even in the Inſtant when the Revolters, as they called them, enter'd into the Houſes, the old Speakers aſſumed their places again, and enter'd upon their buſineſs, as if there had been no ſeparation. The firſt thing they did, was calling in the General into both Houſes, and making him a large acknowledgement in the name of each Houſe, of the great favours he had done to them; they thanked him "for the Protection he had given to their Per- "ſons, and his Vindication of the Privileges of Parliament. Then they voted "all that had been done by themſelves in "going to the Army, and in reſiding there, and all that had "been done by the Army, to be well and lawfully done; as, ſome time after, they alſo voted, "that all that had been done "in the Houſes ſince their departure, was againſt Law, and "Privilege of Parliament, invalid and void: Then they adjourn'd to the next day, without queſtioning or puniſhing any Member who had acted there.

The Army marches through the City, and Quarters about it.

THE Army of Horſe, Foot, and Cannon, marched the next day through the City (which, upon the deſire of the Parliament, undertook forthwith to ſupply an hundred thouſand pounds for the payment of the Army) without the leaſt diſorder, or doing the leaſt damage to any Perſon, or giving any diſreſpective word to any Man: by which they attained the reputation of being in excellent Diſcipline, and that both Officers and Soldiers were Men of extraordinary temper and ſobriety. So they marched over ***London*** Bridge into ***Southwark***, and to thoſe Quarters to which they were aſſign'd; ſome Regiments were Quarter'd in ***Weſtminſter***, the ***Strand***, and ***Holburn***, under pretence of being a Guard to the Parliament, but intended as a Guard upon the City. The General's head Quarters were at ***Chelſey***, and the reſt of the Army Quarter'd between ***Hampton*** Court and ***London***, that the King might be well look'd to; and the Council of Officers, and Agitators, ſate conſtantly, and formally, at ***Fulham***, and ***Putney***, to provide that no other ſettlement ſhould be made for the Government of the Kingdom than what they ſhould well approve.

The King at Hampton Court.

WHILST theſe things were thus agitated between the Army and the Parliament and the City, the King enjoyed himſelf at ***Hampton*** Court, much more to his content than he had of late; the reſpects of the Chief Officers of the Army ſeeming much greater than they had been; ***Cromwell*** himſelf came oftner to him, and had longer conferences with him; talked with more openneſs to Mr ***Aſhburnham*** than he had done, and appear'd more chearful. Perſons of all conditions repaired to his Majeſty of thoſe who had ſerv'd him; with whom he conferr'd without reſervation; and the Citizens flocked thither as they had uſed to do at the end of a Progreſs, when the King had been ſome Months abſent from ***London***: but that which pleaſed his Majeſty moſt, was, that his Children were permitted to come to him, in whom he took great delight. They were all at the Earl of ***Northumberland***'s Houſe, at ***Sion***, from the time the King came to ***Hampton*** Court, and had liberty to attend his Majeſty when he pleaſed; ſo that ſometimes he ſent for them to come to ***Hampton*** Court, and ſometimes he went to them to ***Sion***; which gave him great ſatisfaction.

The King's diſcourſe and converſation with his Children that were in the Parliament's power.

IN this converſation, as if his Majeſty had foreſeen all that befel him afterwards, and which at that time ſure he did not ſuſpect, he took great care to inſtruct his Children how to behave themſelves if the worſt ſhould befal him that the worſt of his Enemies did contrive, or wiſh; and "that they ſhould "preſerve unſhaken their Affection and Duty to the Prince "their Brother. The Duke of *York* was then about fourteen years of Age; and ſo, capable of any information or inſtruction the King thought fit to give him. His Majeſty told him, "that he looked upon himſelf as in the hands and diſ"poſal of the Army, and that the Parliament had no more "power to do him good or harm, than as the Army ſhould "direct or permit; and that he knew not, in all this time he "had been with them, what he might promiſe himſelf from "thoſe Officers of the Army at whoſe devotion it was: that "he hoped well, yet with much doubt and fear; and there"fore he gave him this general direction, and command, "that if there appear'd any ſuch alteration in the affection of "the Army, that they reſtrain'd him from the liberty he then "enjoy'd of ſeeing his Children, or ſuffer'd not his Friends to "reſort to him with that freedom that they enjoyed at pre"ſent, he might conclude they would ſhortly uſe him worſe, "and that he ſhould not be long out of a Priſon; and there"fore that from the time he diſcover'd ſuch an alteration, he "ſhould bethink himſelf how he might make an eſcape out "of their power, and Tranſport himſelf beyond the Seas. The place he recommended to him, was *Holland*; where he preſum'd his Siſter would receive him very kindly, and that the Prince of *Orange* her Husband would be well pleaſed with it, though, poſſibly, the States might reſtrain him from making thoſe Expreſſions of his Affection his own inclination promoted him to. He wiſhed him to think always of this, as a thing poſſible to fall out, and ſo ſpake frequently to him of it, and of the circumſtances and cautions which were neceſſary to attend it.

THE Princeſs *Elizabeth* was not above a year or two younger than the Duke, a Lady of excellent Parts, great Obſervation, and an early Underſtanding; which the King diſcern'd, by the Account ſhe have him both of Things and Perſons, upon the experience ſhe had had of both. His Majeſty enjoyn'd her, "upon the worſt that could befal him, never "to be diſpoſed of in Marriage without the conſent and ap"probation of the Queen her Mother, and the Prince her "Brother; and always to perform all Duty and Obedience to "both thoſe; and to Obey the Queen in all things, except in "matter of Religion; in which he commanded her, upon his "Bleſſing, never to hearken or conſent to her; but to conti"nue firm in the Religion ſhe had been Inſtructed and Edu"cated in, what diſcountenance and ruin ſoever might be"fal the poor Church, at that time under ſo ſevere proſe"cution.

THE Duke of *Glocester* was very young, being at that time not above ſeven years old, and ſo might well be thought incapable of retaining that advice, and injunction, which in truth ever after made ſo deep impreſſion in him. After he had given him all the advice he thought convenient in the matter of Religion, and commanded him poſitively, "never "to be perſwaded or threaten'd out of the Religion of the "Church, in which he hoped he would be well Inſtructed, "and for the Purity and Integrity whereof he bid him re- "member that he had his Father's Teſtimony, and Authority; his Majeſty told him, "that his Infancy, and the Tenderneſs "of his years, might perſwade ſome Men to hope and believe, "that he might be made an Inſtrument, and Property, to ad- "vance their wicked deſigns; and if they ſhould take away "his Life, they might, poſſibly, the better to attain their own "ends make him King; that under him, whilſt his Age "would not permit him to Judge, and Act for himſelf, they "might remove many obſtructions which lay in their way; "and form and unite their Councils; and then they would "deſtroy Him too. But he commanded him, upon his Bleſ- "ſing, never to forget what he ſaid to him upon this occa- "ſion, nor to accept, or ſuffer himſelf to be made King, "whilſt either of his Elder Brothers liv'd, in what part of the "World ſoever they ſhould be: that he ſhould remember "that the Prince his Brother was to ſucceed him by the Laws "of God and Man; and, if he ſhould miſcarry, that the Duke "of *York* was to ſucceed in the ſame Right; and therefore that "he ſhould be ſure never to be made uſe of to interrupt, or "diſturb either of their Rights; which would in the end turn "to his own deſtruction. And this diſcourſe the King reite- rated to him, as often as he had liberty to ſee him, with all the earneſtneſs, and paſſion he could expreſs; which was ſo fixed in his Memory that he never forgot it. And many years after, when he was ſent out of *England*, he made the full relation of all the particulars to Me, with that commotion of Spirit, that it appear'd to be deeply rooted in him; and made uſe of one part of it very ſeaſonably afterwards, where there was more than an ordinary attempt made to have perverted him in his Religion, and to perſwade him to become Roman Catholick for the advancement of his Fortune.

IN this manner, and with theſe kind of reflections, the King made uſe of the Liberty he enjoy'd; and conſider'd as well, what remedies to apply to the worſt that could fall out, as to Careſs the Officers of the Army in order to the improvement of his Condition; of which he was not yet in deſpair; the Chief Officers, and all the Heads of that Party, looking upon it as their wiſeſt Policy to cheriſh the King's hopes by the Liberty they gave him, and by a very flowing

Courteſy towards all who had been of his Party; whoſe expectation, and good word, and teſtimony, they found did them much good both in the City and the Country.

The Lord Capel *waits on the King at* Hampton *Court from* Jerſy.

The Subſtance of the King's Letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

AT this time the Lord *Capel*, whom We left in *Jerſey*, hearing of the difference between the Parliament and the Army, left his two Friends there; and made a Journey to *Paris* to the Prince, that he might receive his Highneſs's approbation of his going for *England*; which he very willingly gave; well knowing that he would improve all opportunities, with great diligence, for the King his Father's Service: and then that Lord Tranſported himſelf into *Zealand*, his Friends having adviſed him to be in thoſe parts before they endeavour'd to procure a Paſs for him; which they eaſily did, aſſoon as he came thither; and ſo he had liberty to remain at his own Houſe in the Country, where he was exceedingly belov'd, and hated no where. And in this general and illimited indulgence, he took the opportunity to wait upon the King at *Hampton* Court; and gave him a particular Account of all that paſſed at *Jerſey*, before the Prince's remove from thence, and of the reaſons which induced thoſe of the Council to remain ſtill there, and of many other particulars, of which his Majeſty had never before been throughly inform'd, and which put it out of any bodies power to do the Chancellor of the Exchequer any ill Offices: And from thence the King writ, with his own hand, a very gracious and kind Letter to the Chancellor at *Jerſey*; full of hope “that he ſhould conclude “ſuch a Treaty with the Army and Parliament that he ſhould “ſhortly draw him, and ſome other of his Friends, to him. He thanked him “for undertaking the work he was upon; “and told him, he ſhould expect ſpeedily to receive ſome “contribution from him towards it; and, within a very ſhort time afterwards, he ſent to him his own Memorials (or thoſe which by his Command had been kept, and were peruſed, and corrected by himſelf) of all that had paſſed from the time he had left his Majeſty at *Oxford*, when he waited upon the Prince into the Weſt, to the very day that the King left *Oxford* to go to the *Scots*; out of which Memorials, as hath been ſaid before, the moſt important paſſages in the Years 1644, and 1645, are faithfully collected. To the Lord *Capel*, his Majeſty imparted all his Hopes and all his Fears; and what great Overtures the *Scots* had again made to him; and “that “he did really believe that it could not be long before there “would be a War between the two Nations; in which the “*Scots* promiſed themſelves an univerſal concurrence from all “the Presbyterians in *England*; and that, in ſuch a conjuncture, “he wiſhed that his own Party would put themſelves in “Armes, without which he could not expect great benefit by “the ſucceſs of the other: And therefore deſir'd *Capel* “to “watch ſuch a conjuncture, and draw his Friends together; which he promiſed to do effectually; and did, very punctually, afterwards, to the loſs of his own Life. Then the King enjoyn'd him “to write to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, “that whenever the Queen, or Prince, ſhould require him to “come to them, he ſhould not fail to yield Obedience to “their Command; and himſelf writ to the Queen, “that “when ever the Seaſon ſhould be ripe for the Prince to en-“gage himſelf in any Action, ſhe ſhould not fail to ſend for “the Chancellor of the Exchequer to wait upon him in it. And many things were then adjuſted, upon the foreſight of future contingencies, which were afterwards thought fit to be executed.

THE Marquis of *Ormond* had, by ſpecial Command and Order from the King whilſt he was with the *Scots* at *New-Caſtle*, deliver'd up the City of *Dublin* to the Parliament, after the *Iriſh* had ſo infamouſly broken the Peace they had made with the King, and brought their whole Army before *Dublin* to Beſiege it; by which he was reduced to thoſe ſtreights, that he had no other election than to deliver it to the *Iriſh*, or to the Parliament; of which his Majeſty being inform'd, determin'd, he ſhould give it to the Parliament; which he did, with full Conditions for all thoſe who had ſerv'd his Majeſty; and ſo Tranſported himſelf into *England*, and, from *London*, preſented himſelf to the King at *Hampton* Court; who receiv'd him with extraordinary Grace, as a Perſon who had ſerv'd him with great Zeal and Fidelity, and with the moſt univerſal Teſtimony of all good Men that any Man could receive. He uſed leſs Application to the Parliament and Army than other Men, relying upon the Articles the Parliament had ſign'd to him; by which he had liberty to ſtay ſo many Months in *England*, and at the end thereof to Tranſport himſelf into the parts beyond the Seas, if in the mean time he made no compoſition with the Parliament: which he never intended to do; and though he knew well that there were many jealous Eyes upon him, he repair'd frequently to preſent his Duty to the King; who was exceedingly pleaſed to confer with him, and to find that he was reſolv'd to undertake any Enterpriſe that might Advance his Service; which the King himſelf, and moſt other Men who wiſhed well to it, did at that time believe to be in no deſperate Condition. And no Men were fuller of profeſſions of Duty, and a Reſolution to run all hazards, than the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners; who, from the time they had deliver'd up the King, reſided at *London* with their uſual Confidence, and loudly complain'd of the preſumption of the Army in ſeiſing upon the Perſon of

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the King, inſinuated themſelves to all thoſe who were thought to be moſt conſtant, and inſeparable from the Intereſt of the Crown, with paſſionate undertaking that their whole Nation would be united, to a Man, in any Enterpriſe for his Service. And now, from the time his Majeſty came to *Hampton* Court, they came to him with as much preſumption as if they had carried him to *Edenborough*; which was the more notorious, and was thought to ſignify the more, becauſe their Perſons were known to be moſt odious to all the great Officers in the Army, and to thoſe who now govern'd in the Parliament. Here the foundation of that engagement was laid, which was endeavour'd to be perform'd the next year enſuing, and which the *Scots* themſelves then communicated to the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Lord *Capel*, and other truſty Perſons; as if there was nothing elſe intended in it than a full vindication of all his Majeſty's Rights and Intereſt.

The Army begins to be leſs regardful of the King.

WHEN the Army had thus ſubdued all oppoſition, and the Parliament and they ſeem'd all of a piece, and the refractory humours of the City ſeem'd to be ſuppreſs'd, and totally tamed, the Army ſeem'd leſs regardful of the King than they had been; the Chief Officers came rarely to *Hampton* Court, nor had they the ſame countenances towards *Aſhburnham*, and *Berkley*, as they uſed to have; they were not at leiſure to ſpeak with them, and when they did, asked captious Queſtions, and gave Anſwers themſelves of no ſignification. The Agitators, and Council of Officers, ſent ſome Propoſitions to the King, as ruinous to the Church and deſtructive to the Regal Power, as had been yet made by the Parliament; and, in ſome reſpects, much worſe, and more diſhonourable; and ſaid, "if his Majeſty would conſent thereunto, they would "apply themſelves to the Parliament, and do the beſt they "could to perſwade them to be of the ſame opinion. But his Majeſty rejected them with more than uſual indignation, not without ſome reproaches upon the Officers, for having deluded him, and having prevail'd in all their own deſigns, by making the World believe that they intended his Majeſty's Reſtoration and Settlement, upon better Conditions than the Parliament was willing to admit. By this manner of reſentment, the Army took it ſelf to be diſobliged, and uſed another Language in their diſcourſe of the King than they had, for ſome Months, done; and ſuch Officers who had formerly ſerv'd the King, and had been civilly treated and ſhelter'd in the Quarters of the Army, were now driven from thence. They who had been kind to them, withdrew themſelves from their Acquaintance; and the Sequeſtrations of all the Eſtates of the Cavaliers, which had been intermitted, were revived with as much rigour as ever had been before practiced, and the declared Delinquents racked to as high compoſitions; which if they refuſed to make, their whole Eſtates were taken from them, and their Perſons expoſed to affronts, and inſecurity; but this was imputed to the prevalence of the Presbyterian humour in the Parliament againſt the judgement of the Army: and it is very true, that though the Parliament was ſo far ſubdued, that it no more found fault with what the Army did, nor complain'd that it meddled in determining what Settlement ſhould be made in the Government, yet, in all their own Acts and Proceedings, they proſecuted a Preſbyterian Settlement as earneſtly as they could. The Covenant was preſſed in all places, and the Anabaptiſts and other Sects, which begun to abound, were puniſhed, reſtrained, and diſcountenanced; which the Army liked not, as a violation of the Liberty of tender Conſciences; which, they pretended, was as much the Original of the Quarrel, as any other Grievance whatſoever.

The Univerſity of Oxford *viſited by the Parliament.*

IN this year, 1647, they had begun a Viſitation of the Univerſity of *Oxford*; which they finiſhed not till the next year; in which the Earl of *Pembroke* had been contented to be imploy'd as Chancellor of the Univerſity, who had taken an Oath to defend the Rights and Privileges of the Univerſity; notwithſtanding which, out of the extreme weakneſs of his Underſtanding, and the miſerable complyance of his Nature, he ſuffer'd himſelf to be made a Property in joyning with *Brent*, *Pryn*, and ſome Committee Men, and Presbyterian Miniſters, as Commiſſioners for the Parliament to reform the Diſcipline, and Erroneous Doctrine of that Famous Univerſity, by the Rule of the Covenant; which was the Standard of all Mens Learning, and ability to govern; all Perſons of what Quality ſoever being required to ſubſcribe that Teſt; which the whole Body of the Univerſity was ſo far from ſubmitting to, that they met in their Convocation, and, to their eternal Renown (being at the ſame time under a ſtrict and ſtrong Garriſon, put over them by the Parliament; the King in Priſon; and all their hopes deſperate) paſſed a publick Act, and Declaration againſt the Covenant, with ſuch invincible Arguments of the Illegality, Wickedneſs, and Perjury contain'd in it, that no Man of the contrary Opinion, nor the Aſſembly of the Divines (which then ſate at *Weſtminſter*, forming a new Catechiſm, and Scheme of Religion) ever ventur'd to make any Anſwer to it; nor is it indeed to be anſwer'd, but muſt remain to the World's end, as a Monument of the Learning, Courage, and Loyalty, of that excellent place, againſt the higheſt Malice and Tyranny that was ever exerciſed in, or over any Nation; and which thoſe Famous Commiſſioners only anſwer'd by Expelling all thoſe who refuſed

The Oxford *Reaſons againſt the Covenant paſſed in Convocation at this time.*

fuſed to ſubmit to their Juriſdiction, or to take the Covenant; which was, upon the matter, the whole Univerſity; ſcarce one Governour and Maſter of College or Hall, and an incredible ſmall Number of the Fellows, or Scholars, ſubmitting to either; whereupon that deſolation being made, they placed in their rooms, the moſt notorious Factious Presbyterians, in the Government of the ſeveral Colleges or Halls; and ſuch other of the ſame Leven in the Fellowſhips, and Scholars places, of thoſe whom they had Expelled, without any regard to the Statutes of the ſeveral Founders, and the Incapacities of the Perſons that were put in. The Omnipotence of an Ordinance of Parliament, confirm'd all that was this way done; and there was no farther contending againſt it.

IT might reaſonably be concluded that this wild and barbarous depopulation, would even extirpate all that Learning, Religion, and Loyalty, which had ſo eminently flouriſhed there; and that the ſucceeding ill Husbandry, and unskilful Cultivation, would have made it fruitful only in Ignorance, Prophanation, Atheiſm, and Rebellion; but, by God's wonderful Bleſſing, the goodneſs and richneſs of that Soil could not be made barren by all that ſtupidity and negligence. It choaked the Weeds, and would not ſuffer the poyſonous Seeds, which were ſown with induſtry enough, to ſpring up; but after ſeveral Tyrannical Governments, mutually ſucceeding each other, and with the ſame malice and perverſneſs endeavouring to extinguiſh all good Literature and Allegiance, it yielded a Harveſt of extraordinary good and ſound Knowledge in all parts of Learning; and many who were wickedly introduced, applied themſelves to the Study of good Learning, and the practice of Virtue; and had inclination to tha Duty and Obedience they had never been taught; ſo that when it pleaſed God to bring King *Charles* the Second back to hi Throne, he found that Univerſity (not to undervalue th other, which had nobly likewiſe rejected the ill infuſion which had been induſtriouſly pour'd into it) abounding i excellent Learning, and devoted to Duty and Obedience, little inferior to what it was before its deſolation; which was lively inſtance of God's Mercy, and purpoſe, for ever ſo t provide for his Church, that the Gates of Hell ſhall neve prevail againſt it; which were never open'd wider, nor wit more Malice, than in that time.

THESE violent Proceedings in all places, blaſted all th King's hopes, and put an end to all the reſt and quiet he ha for ſome time enjoyed; nor could he deviſe any remedy. H was weary of depending upon the Army, but neither kne how to get from them, nor whither elſe to reſort for hel The Officers of thoſe Guards which were aſſign'd to atten his Perſon, and who had behaved themſelves with good Manners, and Duty towards him, and very civilly towards thoſe of his Party who had uſed to wait upon his Majeſty, begun now to murmur at ſo great reſort to him, and to uſe many, who came, rudely: and not to ſuffer them to go into the Room where the King was; or, which was worſe, put them out when they were there; and when his Majeſty ſeem'd to take notice and be troubled at it, they appear'd not to be concern'd, nor anſwer'd him with that Duty they had uſed to do. They affronted the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners very notably, and would not ſuffer them to ſpeak with the King; which cauſed an expoſtulation from the Parliament; which removed the obſtruction for the future, but procured no ſatisfaction for the injury they had receiv'd, nor made the ſame Officers more civil towards their Perſons. *Aſhburnham*, and *Berkley*, receiv'd many Advertiſements from ſome Officers with whom they had moſt converſed, and who would have been glad that the King might have been reſtored by the Army for the Preferments which they expected might fall to their ſhare, "that "*Cromwell*, and *Ireton* reſolv'd never to truſt the King, or to "do any thing towards his Reſtoration; and they two ſteer'd the whole Body; and therefore it was adviſed, "that ſome "way might be found to remove his Majeſty out of their "hands. Major *Huntington*, one of the beſt Officers they had, and Major to *Cromwell*'s own Regiment of Horſe, upon whom he rely'd in any Enterpriſe of Importance more than upon any Man, had been imploy'd by him to the King, to ſay thoſe things from him which had given the King the moſt confidence, and was much more than he had ever ſaid to *Aſhburnham*; and the Major did really believe that he had meant all he ſaid, and the King had a good opinion of the Integrity of the Major, upon the Teſtimony he had receiv'd from ſome he knew had no mind to deceive his Majeſty; and the Man merited the Teſtimony they gave him. He, when he obſerv'd *Cromwell* to grow colder in his Expreſſions for the King than he had formerly been, expoſtulated with him in very ſharp terms, for "abuſing him, and making him the "Inſtrument to couzen the King; and, though the other endeavour'd to perſwade him that all ſhould be well, he inform'd his Majeſty of all he had obſerv'd; and told him, "that *Cromwell* was a Villain, and would deſtroy him if he were "not prevented; and, in a ſhort time after, he gave up his Commiſſion, and would ſerve no longer in the Army. *Cromwell* himſelf expoſtulated with Mr *Aſhburnham*, and complain'd "that the King could not be truſted; and that he had no af-"fection or confidence in the Army, but was jealous of them, "and of all the Officers: that he had Intrigues in the Par-

“liament, and Treaties with the Presbyterians of the City, “to raiſe new Troubles; that he had a Treaty concluded with “the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners to engage the Nation again in “blood; and therefore he would not be anſwerable if any thing “fell out amiſs, and contrary to expectation; and that was the reaſon, beſides the old Animoſity, that had drawn on the Affront, which the Commiſſioners had complain'd of. What that Treaty was, and what it produced, will be mention'd in a more proper place.

The Levellers grew up in the Army.

THERE was at this time a new Faction grown up in the Army, which were either by their own denomination, or with their own conſent, called ***Levellers***; who ſpoke inſolently and confidently againſt the King and Parliament, and the great Officers of the Army; and profeſſed as great Malice againſt all the Lords, as againſt the King; and declared “that all “degrees of Men ſhould be levelled, and an equality ſhould “be eſtabliſhed, both in Titles and Eſtates, throughout the “Kingdoms. Whether the raiſing this Spirit was a piece of *Cromwell*'s ordinary Witchcraft, in order to ſome of his deſigns, or whether it grew amongſt thoſe Tares which had been ſowed in that confuſion, certain it is, it gave him real trouble at laſt (which muſt be ſet down hereafter) but the preſent uſe he made of it was, that, upon the licentious diſcourſe of that kind, which ſome Soldiers upon the Guard uſually made, the Guard upon the King's Perſon was doubled; a reſtraint put upon the great reſort of People who came to ſee the King; and all pretended to be for his ſecurity, and to prevent any Violence that might be attempted upon his Life; which they ſeem'd to apprehend, and deteſt. In the mean time, they neither hinder'd his Majeſty from riding abroad to take the Air, nor from doing any thing he had a mind to, nor reſtrain'd thoſe who waited upon him in his Bed-Chamber, nor his Chaplains from performing their Functions; though towards all theſe there was leſs civility exerciſed than had been; and the Guards which waited neareſt, were more rude, and made more noiſe at unſeaſonable hours than they had been accuſtom'd to do; the Captain who Commanded them, Colonel *Whaley*, being a Man of a rough and brutal Temper, who had offer'd great violence to his Nature, when he appear'd to exerciſe any civility and good Manners. The King, every day, receiv'd little Billets or Letters, ſecretly convey'd to him without any Name, which advertiſed him of wicked deſigns upon his Life, and ſome of them adviſed him to make an Eſcape, and repair ſecretly into the City, where he ſhould be ſafe; ſome Letters directing him to ſuch an Alderman's Houſe; all which his Majeſty looked upon as artifice to lead him into ſome ſtreights, from whence he ſhould not eaſily explicate himſelf; and yet many who repaired to him, brought the ſame advice from Men of unqueſtionable ſincerity, by what reaſon ſoever they were ſwayed.

THE King found himſelf in great perplexity, from what he diſcern'd, and obſerv'd himſelf, as well as what he heard from others; but what uſe to make of the one or the other, was very hard to reſolve: he did really believe that their Malice was at the height, and that they did deſign his Murther, but knew not which was a probable way to prevent it. The making an eſcape, if it were not contrived with wonderful ſagacity, would expoſe him to be aſſaſſinated, by pretended Ignorance, and would be charged upon himſelf; and if he could avoid their Guards, and get beyond them undiſcover'd, wihther ſhould he go? and what place would receive and defend him? The hope of the City ſeem'd not to him to have a foundation of reaſon; they had been too late ſubdued to recover Courage for ſuch an adventure; and the Army now was much more Maſter of it than when they deſponded. There is reaſon to believe that he did reſolve to tranſport himſelf beyond the Seas, which had been no hard matter to have brought to paſs, but with whom he conſulted for the way of doing it, is not to this day diſcover'd; they who were inſtrumental in his remove, pretending to know nothing of the Reſolution, or Counſel. But, one morning, being the eleventh of *November*, the King having, the night before, pretended ſome indiſpoſition, and that he would go to his reſt, they who went into his Chamber, found that he was not there, nor had been in his Bed that Night. There were two or three Letters found upon his Table, writ all with his own hand, one to the Parliament, another to the General; in which he declared “the “reaſon of his remove to be, an apprehenſion that ſome deſperate Perſons had a deſign to Aſſaſſinate him; and therefore he had withdrawn himſelf with a purpoſe of remaining “concealed, until the Parliament had agreed upon ſuch Propoſitions as ſhould be fit for him to conſent to; and he “would then appear, and willingly conſent to any thing that “ſhould be for the Peace and Happineſs of the Kingdom. There were diſcover'd the treading of Horſes at a Back door of the Garden into which his Majeſty had a Paſſage out of his Chamber; and it is true that way he went, having appointed his Horſe to be there ready at an hour, and S^{r} *John Berkley*, *Aſhburnham*, and *Legg*, to wait upon him, the two laſt being of his Bed-Chamber. *Aſhburnham* alone ſeem'd to know what they were to do, the other two having receiv'd only Orders to attend. When they were free from the Apprehenſion of the Guards, and the Horſe Quarters, they rode towards the South Weſt, and towards that part of *Hampſhire*

The King eſcapes from Hampton *Court* Nov. 11.

which led to the New Foreſt. The King asked *Aſhburnham*, where the Ship lay? which made the other two conclude that the King reſolv'd to Tranſport himſelf. After they had made ſome ſtay in that part next the Sea, and *Aſhburnham* had been ſome time abſent, he return'd without any news of the Ship; with which the King ſeem'd troubled. Upon this diſappointment, the King thought it beſt, for avoiding all High-ways, to go to *Tichfield*, a noble Seat of the Earl of *Southampton*'s (who was not there) but inhabited by the old Lady his Mother with a ſmall Family, which made the retreat the more convenient; there his Majeſty alighted, and would ſpeak with the Lady; to whom he made no ſcruple of Communicating himſelf, well knowing her to be a Lady of that Honour, and Spirit, that ſhe was ſuperior to all kind of temptation. There he refreſhed himſelf, and conſulted with his three Servants, what he ſhould next do, ſince there was neither Ship ready, nor could they preſume that they could remain long there undiſcover'd.

He comes to Lichfield *n* Hamp- hire.

In this Debate, the Iſle of *Wight* came to be mention'd (as they ſay) by *Aſhburnham*, as a place where his Majeſty might ſecurely repoſe himſelf, until he thought fit to inform the Parliament where he was. Colonel *Hammond* was Governour there, an Officer of the Army, and of neareſt truſt with *Cromwell*, having by his advice been Married to a Daughter of *John Hambden*, whoſe memory he always adored; yet, by ſome fatal miſtake, this Man was thought a Perſon of Honour and Generoſity enough to truſt the King's Perſon to, and *Aſhburnham*, and *Berkley*, were ſent to him with Orders, "firſt to be ſure that the Man would faithfully promiſe not to "deliver his Majeſty up though the Parliament or Army "ſhould require him, but to give him his Liberty to ſhift for "himſelf, if he were not able to defend him; and except he "would make that promiſe, they ſhould not let him know "where his Majeſty was, but ſhould return preſently to him. With this Commiſſion they two croſſed the Water to the Iſle of *Wight*, the King in the mean time repoſing himſelf at *Tichfield*. The next day they found Colonel *Hammond*; who was known to them both, who had Converſation with him in the Army, when the King was well treated there (and their Perſons had been very civilly treated by moſt of the Officers, who thought themſelves qualified ſufficiently for Court Preferments) They told him, "that the King was withdrawn "from the Army; of which he ſeem'd to have had no notice, and to be very much ſurpriſed with it. They then ſaid, "that the King had ſo good an opinion of him, knowing him "to be a Gentleman, and for his relation to Dr *Hammond* "(whoſe Nephew he was) that he would truſt his Perſon "with

The King ends Aſh- urnham *nd* Berk- ey *to Col.* Hammond *n the Iſle of* Wight.

“with him, and would from thence write to the Parliament, “if he would promiſe that if his Meſſage had not that effect “which he hoped it would have, he would leave him to “himſelf to go whither he thought fit, and would not deliver “him to the Parliament, or Army, if they ſhould require it. His Anſwer was, “that he would pay all the Duty and Service to his Majeſty that was in his power; and, if he pleaſed “to come thither, he would receive and entertain him as “well as he could; but that he was an Inferior Officer, and “muſt obey his Superiors in whatſoever they thought fit to “command him: with which when he ſaw they were not ſatisfied, he asked, “where the King was? to which they made no other Anſwer, “but that they would acquaint his “Majeſty with his Anſwer, and, if he were ſatisfied with it, “they would return to him again. He demanded that Mr “*Aſhburnham* would ſtay with him, and that the other might “go to the King; which Mr *Aſhburnham* refuſed to do.

AFTER ſome time ſpent in Debate, in which he made many expreſſions of his deſire to do any Service to his Majeſty, they were contented that he ſhould go with them; and *Aſhburnham* ſaid, “he would conduct him to the place where “the King was; and ſo, he Commanding three or four Servants or Soldiers to wait on him, they went together to *Tichfield*; and, the other ſtaying below, *Aſhburnham* went up to the King's Chamber. When he had acquainted him with all that had paſſed, and that *Hammond* was in the Houſe, his Majeſty broke out in a paſſionate exclamation, and ſaid, “O “*Jack*, thou haſt undone me! with which the other falling into a great paſſion of weeping, offer'd to go down, and to kill *Hammond*; to which his Majeſty would not conſent; and, after ſome pauſing, and deliberation, ſent for him up, and endeavour'd to perſwade him to make the ſame promiſe, which had before been propoſed; to which he made the ſame Anſwer he had done, but with many profeſſions of doing all the Offices he could for his Majeſty; and ſeem'd to believe that the Army would do well for him. The King believ'd that there was now no poſſible way to get from him, he having the Command of the Country, and could call in what help he would; and ſo went with him into the Iſle of *Wight*, and was Lodg'd at *Carisbrook*-Caſtle, at firſt with all demonſtration of Reſpect and Duty.

They bring Hammond *to the King.*

Hammond *removes the King to* Carisbrooke *Caſtle.*

IT never appear'd afterwards that the King was maliciouſly betray'd to this unhappy peregrination, by the treachery and practice of thoſe he truſted; and his Majeſty himſelf never entertain'd the leaſt Jealouſy, or Suſpicion of it; yet the whole deſign appear'd to be ſo weakly contriv'd, the not being ſure of a Ship, if the Reſolution were fixed for Embarking, which

The Author's opinion of this whole buſineſs.

was never manifeſt, the making choice of the Iſle of *Wight*, and of *Hammond* to be truſted, ſince nothing fell out which was not to be reaſonably foreſeen and expected, and the bringing him to *Tichfield*, without the permiſſion of the King, if not directly contrary to it, ſeem'd to be all ſo far from a rational deſign and conduct, that moſt Men did believe there was Treaſon in the contrivance, or that his Majeſty entruſted thoſe who were groſly impos'd upon and deceiv'd by his greateſt Enemies. *Legg* had had ſo general a Reputation of Integrity, and Fidelity to his Maſter, that he never fell under the leaſt Imputation or Reproach with any Man: he was a very punctual and ſteady obſerver of the Orders he receiv'd, but no contriver of them, and though he had in truth a better Judgement and Underſtanding than either of the other two, his modeſty and diffidence of himſelf never ſuffer'd him to contrive bold Counſels. *Berkley* was leſs known among thoſe Perſons of Honour and Quality who had follow'd the King, being in a very private Station before the War, and his Poſt in it being in the fartheſt Corner of the Kingdom, and not much ſpoken of till the end of it, when he was not beholden to reports; Ambition and Vanity were well known to be predominant in him, and that he had great confidence in himſelf, and did not delight to converſe with thoſe who had not; but he never fell under any blemiſh of Diſloyalty, and he took care to publiſh that this Enterpriſe of the King's was ſo totally without his privity, that he was required to attend on Horſe-back at ſuch an hour, and had not the leaſt intimation of his Majeſty's purpoſe what he intended to do. Another particular, which was acknowledged by *Hammond*, did him much credit, that when *Hammond* demanded that *Aſhburnham* ſhould remain with him whilſt the other went to the King, which *Aſhburnham* refuſed to do, *Berkley* did offer himſelf to remain with him whilſt *Aſhburnham* ſhould attend his Majeſty; ſo that the whole weight of the prejudice and reproach was caſt upon *Aſhburnham*; who was known to have ſo great an Intereſt in the Affections of his Majeſty, and ſo great an influence upon his Counſels and Reſolutions, that he could not be ignorant of any thing that moved him.

THE not having a Ship ready, if it were intended, was unexcuſable; and the putting the King into *Hammond*'s hands without his leave, could never be wiped out. There were ſome who ſaid, that *Aſhburnham* reſolv'd that the King ſhould go to the Iſle of *Wight*, before he left *Hampton* Court; and the Lord *Langdale* often ſaid, "that being in Mr *Aſhburnham*'s Chamber at that time, he had the curioſity, whilſt the "other went out of the Room, to look upon a Paper that lay "upon the Table; in which was writ, that it would be beſt

“ for the King to withdraw from the Army, where he was “ in ſuch danger; and that the Iſle of *Wight* would be a good “ retreat, where Colonel *Hammond* Commanded; who was a “ very honeſt Man. And this was ſome days before his Majeſty remov'd. And then it was obſerv'd, that *Hammond* himſelf left the Army but two or three days before the King's remove, and went to the Iſle of *Wight* at a Seaſon when there was no viſible occaſion to draw him thither, and when the Agitators in the Army were at higheſt; and it was looked upon with the more wonder, becauſe *Aſhburnham* was not afterwards call'd in Queſtion for being inſtrumental in the King's going away, but liv'd unqueſtion'd long after in the ſight of the Parliament, and in converſation with ſome of the Officers of the Army who had moſt deceiv'd him; and, which was more cenſured than all the reſt, that after the Murther of the King he compounded, as was reported, at an eaſy rate, and liv'd at eaſe, and grew rich, for many years together without interruption.

ON the other hand, he preſerv'd his Reputation and Credit with the moſt eminent of the King's Party; and his remaining in *England* was upon the Marriage of a Lady by whom he had a great Fortune, and many conveniences; which would have been ſeiſed by his leaving the Kingdom; and he did ſend over to the King, and had leave to ſtay there; and ſometimes ſupplied the King with conſiderable Sums of Money. Afterwards he was committed to the Tower by *Cromwell*, where he remain'd till his Death; and the King was known to have had, to the laſt, a clear opinion of his Affection, and Integrity; and when King *Charles* the Second return'd, moſt of thoſe of greateſt Reputation, as the Marquis of *Hertford*, and the Earl of *Southampton*, gave him a good Teſtimony; yet then, the old diſcourſes were revived, and Major *Huntington* did affirm, “that Mr *Aſhburnham* did in“ tend the King ſhould go to the Iſle of *Wight*, before he left “ *Hampton* Court. Many who did not believe him to be corrupted, did ſtill think that *Cromwell* and *Ireton* had overwitted him, and perſwaded him, upon great promiſes, that it ſhould prove for his Majeſty's benefit, and that they ſhould the ſooner do his buſineſs, that he ſhould withdraw from the Army, and put himſelf into *Hammond*'s hands; for if in truth Tranſportation had been thought of, it is hard to believe that a Ship would not have been provided.

SIR *John Berkley*, who, ſhortly after the King's being in the Iſle of *Wight*, had Tranſported himſelf into *France*, and remain'd ſtill with the Duke of *York* to the time of King *Charles* the Second's Return, and Mr *Aſhburnham*, who continued in *England*, and ſo the more liable to Reproach, had been ſo ſollicitous to wipe off the Aſperſions which were caſt upon them joyntly, that they had it in care to preſerve the Reputation of a joynt Innocence; but whilſt each endeavour'd to clear himſelf, he objected or imputed ſomewhat to the other, that made him liable to juſt cenſure; and, in this contention, their Friends mention'd their ſeveral diſcourſes ſo loudly, and ſo paſſionately for the credit and reputation of him whom they lov'd beſt, that they contracted a very avow'd Animoſity againſt each other; inſomuch as it was generally believ'd upon the King's Return, that they would, with ſome fierceneſs, have expoſtulated with each other in that way which angry Men chooſe to determine the right, or that both of them would have deſir'd the King to have cauſed the whole to be ſo ſtrictly examin'd, that the World might have diſcern'd, where the faults or overſights had been, if no worſe could have been charged upon them: but they applied themſelves to neither of thoſe Expedients, and liv'd only as Men who took no delight in each others Converſation, and who did not deſire to cheriſh any familiarity together. And the King, who was ſatisfied that there had been no Treaſonable contrivance (from which his Father had abſolv'd them) did not think it fit, upon ſuch a Subject, to make ſtrict Inquiſition into Inadvertencies, Indiſcretions, and Preſumptions, which could not have been puniſhed proportionally.

IT is true that they both writ Apologies, or Narrations of all that had paſſed in that Affair, which they made not publick, but gave in writing to ſuch of their Friends in whoſe opinions they moſt deſir'd to be abſolv'd, without any Inclination that one ſhould ſee what the other had writ; in which, though there were ſeveral reflections upon each other, and differences in occurrences of leſs moment, there was nothing in either that ſeem'd to doubt of the Integrity of the other; nor any clear relation of any probable inducement that prevailed with the King to undertake that Journey. I have read both their Relations, and conferr'd with both of them at large, to diſcover in truth what the motives might be which led to ſo fatal an end; and, if I were obliged to deliver my own opinion, I ſhould declare that neither of them were, in any degree, corrupted in their Loyalty or Affection to the King, or ſuborn'd to gratify any Perſons with a diſſervice to their Maſter. They were both of them great Opiniators, yet irreſolute, and eaſy to be ſhaken by any thing they had not thought of before; and exceedingly undervalued each others Underſtanding; but, as it uſually falls out in Men of that kind of Compoſition, and Talent, they were both diſpoſed to communicate more freely with, and, conſequently, to be adviſed by new Acquaintance, and Men they had lately begun to know, than old Friends, and ſuch whoſe judgements they could not but eſteem; who they had no mind ſhould go ſharers with them in the merit of any notable Service which they thought themſelves able to bring to paſs. Then, in the whole managery of the King's buſineſs, from the time that they came into the Army, they never converſed with the ſame Perſons; but govern'd themſelves by what they receiv'd from thoſe whoſe correſpondence they had choſen. *Aſhburnham* ſeem'd wholely to rely upon *Cromwell*, and *Ireton*; and rather upon what they ſaid to others than to himſelf. For beſides outward Civilities, which they both exerciſed towards him more than to other Men, they ſeldom held private diſcourſe with him, perſwading him "that it was better for "both their ends, in reſpect of the jealouſy the Parliament "had of them, that they ſhould underſtand each others mind, "as to the Tranſaction of any particulars, from third Perſons "mutually intruſted between them, than from frequent con"ſultations together; and Sr *Edward Ford*, who had Married *Ireton*'s Siſter, but had been himſelf an Officer in the King's Army from the beginning of the War, and a Gentleman of good meaning, though not able to fathom the reſerv'd and dark deſigns of his Brother in Law, was truſted to paſs between them, with ſome other Officers of the Army, who had given *Aſhburnham* reaſon to believe that they had honeſt Purpoſes.

BERKLEY had not found that reſpect, from *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, that he expected; at leaſt diſcern'd it to be greater towards *Aſhburnham*, than it was to Him; which he thought evidence enough of a defect of judgement in them; and therefore had apply'd himſelf to others, who had not ſo great Names, but greater Intereſt, as he thought, in the Soldiers. His chief confidence was in Dr *Staines*, who, though a Dr in Phyſick, was Quarter Maſter General of the Army; and one *Watſon*, who was Scout Maſter General of the Army; both of the Council of War, both in good credit with *Cromwell*, and both notable Fanaticks, and profeſſed Enemies to the *Scots*, and the Presbyterians, and, no doubt, were both permitted, and inſtructed to Careſs Sr *John Berkley*, and, by admiring his Wiſdom and Conduct, to oblige him to depend on Theirs; and diſſimulation had ſo great, and ſupreme an influence on the Hearts and Spirits of all thoſe who were truſted, and imploy'd by *Cromwell*, that no Man was ſafe in their Company, but he who reſolv'd before, not to believe one word they ſaid. Theſe two Perſons knew well how to humour Sr *John Berkley*, who believ'd them the more, becauſe they ſeem'd very much to blame *Ireton*'s ſtubbornneſs towards the King, and to fear that he often prevail'd upon *Cromwell* againſt his own Inclinations: They inform'd him of many particulars which paſſed in the Council of Officers, and ſometimes of advice from *Cromwell*, that was clean contrary to what the King receiv'd by *Aſhburnham* as his opinion, and which was found afterwards to be true (as it may be the other was too) which exceedingly confirm'd Sr *John* in the good opinion he had of his two Friends. They were the firſt who poſitively advertiſed the King by him, that *Cromwell* would never do him Service; and the firſt who ſeem'd to apprehend that the King's Perſon was in danger, and that there was ſome ſecret deſign upon his Life.

I do not believe that Sr *John Berkley* knew any thing of the King's purpoſe in his intended eſcape, or whither he reſolv'd to go, or, indeed, more of it than that he reſolv'd at ſuch an hour, and in ſuch a place, to take Horſe, and was himſelf required to attend him; nor do I, in truth, think that the King himſelf, when he took Horſe, reſolv'd whither to go. Some think he meant to go into the City; others, that he intended for *Jerſey*; and that was the ground of the Queſtion to Mr *Aſhburnham*, "where is the Ship? Certain it is that the King never thought of going to the Iſle of *Wight*. I am not ſure that Mr *Aſhburnham*, who had not yet given over all hope of the chief Officers of the Army, and believ'd the alterations, which had fallen out, proceeded from the barbarity of the Agitators, and the Levelling Party, had not the Iſle of *Wight* in his view from the beginning, that is, from the time his Majeſty thought it neceſſary to make an eſcape from the Army. It had been a difficult task to go about to diſſwade the King from an apprehenſion of his own ſafety, when it was much more natural to fear an Aſſaſſination, than to apprehend any thing that they did afterwards do. Mr *Aſhburnham* had ſo great a deteſtation of the *Scots*, that he expected no good from their Fraternity, the Presbyterians of the City; and did really believe that if his Majeſty ſhould put himſelf into their hands, as was adviſed by many with a purpoſe that he ſhould be there concealed, till ſome favourable conjuncture ſhould offer it ſelf (for no body imagin'd that, upon his arrival there, the City would have declared for him, and have enter'd into a Conteſt with that Army which had ſo lately ſubdued them) the ſecurity of ſuch an eſcape was not to be relied on, and very earneſtly diſſwaded his Maſter from entertaining the thought of it; and this opinion of his was univerſally known, and, as hath been ſaid before, was an ingredient into the compoſition of that civility and kindneſs the Officers of the Army had for him. They did, to him, frequently lament the Levelling Spirit that was gotten into the Soldiers, which they foreſaw would in the future be as inconvenient,

nient, and miſchievous to themſelves, as it was, for the preſent, dangerous to the Perſon of the King; which they ſeem'd wonderfully to apprehend, and proteſted "that they knew "not how to apply any remedy to it, whilſt his Majeſty was "in the Army; but that they would quickly correct or ſub- "due it, if the King were at any diſtance from them; and it is not impoſſible, that, in ſuch diſcourſes, ſome body who was truſted by them, if not one of themſelves, might mention the Iſle of ***Wight*** as a good place to retire to, and Colonel ***Hammond*** as a Man of good intentions; the minutes of which diſcourſe Mr *Aſhburnham* might keep by him; for the Lord ***Langdale***'s relation of ſuch a Paper, which he himſelf ſaw, and read, cannot be thought by me to be a meer fiction; to which, beſides that he was a Perſon of unblemiſh'd Honour and Veracity, he had not any temptation; yet Mr *Aſhburnham* did conſtantly deny that he ever ſaw any ſuch Paper, or had any thought of the Iſle of ***Wight*** when the King left ***Hampton*** Court, and he never gave cauſe, in the ſubſequent Actions of his Life, to have his Fidelity ſuſpected. And it is probable, that *Cromwell*, who many years afterwards committed him to the Tower, and did hate him, and deſired to have taken his Life, would have been glad to have blaſted his Reputation, by declaring that he had carried his Maſter to the Iſle of *Wight*, without his privity, upon his own preſumption; which, how well ſoever intended, muſt have been looked upon by all Men as ſuch a tranſcendent Crime, as muſt have deprived him of all compaſſion for the worſt that could befal him.

THE ſuddain unexpected withdrawing of the King, made a great impreſſion upon the minds of all Men, every Man fancying that his Majeſty would do that which he wiſhed he would do. The Presbyterians imagined that he lay concealed in the City (which they unreaſonably thought he might eaſily do) and would expect a proper conjuncture, upon a new rupture between the Parliament, and the Army, and the many Factions in the Army, which every day appear'd, to diſcover himſelf. The Cavaliers hoped that he would tranſport himſelf into the parts beyond the Seas, and quietly attend there thoſe alterations at home, which might probably in a ſhort time invite his Return. The Army was not without this apprehenſion, as imagining it the worſt that could fall out to their purpoſes.

THE Parliament, that is, that part of it that was devoted to the Army, was moſt frighted with the imagination that the King was in the City, and would lurk there until ſome Conſpiracy ſhould be ripe, and all his Party ſhould be preſent in ***London*** to ſecond it; and therefore they no ſooner heard that he was gone from *Hampton* Court, than they paſſed an Ordinance of both Houſes, by which they declared, "that

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"it ſhould be Confiſcation of Eſtate, and loſs of Life, to any "Man who preſumed to harbour and conceal the King's Perſon in his Houſe, without revealing, and making it known "to the Parliament: which, no doubt, would have terrified them all in ſuch a manner, that if he had been in truth amongſt them, he would quickly have been diſcover'd, and given up. They cauſed ſome of the moſt notorious Presbyterians Houſes to be ſearched, as if they had been ſure he had been there; and ſent Poſts to all Ports of the Kingdom "that "they might be ſhut, and no Perſon be ſuffer'd to Embark, "leſt the King, in diſguiſe, Tranſport himſelf; and a Proclamation was iſſued out, "for the baniſhing all Perſons who "had ever borne Armes for the King, out of *London*, or any "place within twenty Miles of it; and all Perſons of that kind, who, upon ſtrict ſearch, were found, were apprehended, and put into ſeveral Priſons with all the circumſtances of ſeverity and rigour. But all theſe doubts were quickly clear'd, and within two days, *Cromwell* inform'd the Houſe of Commons, "that he had receiv'd Letters from Colonel *Hammond*, of all "the manner of the King's coming to the Iſle of *Wight*, and "the Company that came with him; that he remain'd there "in the Caſtle of *Carisbrooke*, till the pleaſure of the Parliament ſhould be known. He aſſured them, "that Colonel "*Hammond* was ſo honeſt a Man, and ſo much devoted to "their Service, that they need have no jealouſy that he might "be corrupted by any Body; and all this relation he made with ſo unuſual a gaiety, that all Men concluded that the King was where He wiſhed he ſhould be.

AND now the Parliament maintain'd no farther Conteſts with the Army, but tamely ſubmitted to whatſoever they propoſed; the Presbyterians in both Houſes, and in the City, being in a terrible Agony, that ſome cloſe Correſpondences they had held with the King during his abode at *Hampton* Court, would be diſcover'd; and therefore would give no farther occaſion of jealouſy by any contradictions, leaving it to their Clergy to keep the fire burning in the hearts of the People by their Pulpit-Inflamations; and they ſtoutly diſcharged their truſt.

BUT *Cromwell* had more cauſe to fear a fire in his own Quarters, and that he had raiſed a Spirit in the Army which would not eaſily be quieted again. The Agitators, who were firſt form'd by him to oppoſe the Parliament, and to reſiſt the deſtructive doom of their disbanding, and likewiſe to prevent any inconvenience, or miſchief, that might reſult from the drowſy, dull Presbyterian humour of *Fairfax*; who wiſhed nothing that *Cromwell* did, and yet contributed to bring it all to paſs: Theſe Agitators, had hitherto tranſcribed faithfully all the Copies he had given them, and offer'd ſuch Advices to the Parliament, and inſiſted upon ſuch expoſtulations and demands, as were neceſſary, whilſt there was either any purpoſe to treat with the King or any reaſon to flatter his Party. But now the King was gone from the Army, and in ſuch a place as the Army could have no recourſe to him, and that the Parliament was become of ſo ſoft a temper, that the Party of the Army that was in it, could make all neceſſary impreſſion upon them, He deſired to reſtrain the Agitators from that Liberty which they had ſo long enjoyed, and to keep them within ſtricter Rules of Obedience to their Superiors, and to hinder their future Meetings, and Conſultations concerning the ſettling the Government of the Kingdom; which, he thought, ought now to be ſolely left to the Parliament; whoſe Authority, for the preſent, he thought beſt to uphold, and by it to eſtabliſh all that was to be done. But the Agitators would not be ſo diſmiſs'd from State Affairs; of which they had ſo pleaſant a reliſh; nor be at the mercy of the Parliament, which they had ſo much provoked; and therefore when they were admitted no more to conſultations with their Officers, they continued their meetings without them; and thought there was as great need to reform their Officers, as any part of the Church or State. They enter'd into new Aſſociations, and made many Propoſitions to their Officers, and to the Parliament, to introduce an equality into all Conditions, and a parity among all Men; from whence they had the Appellation of *Levellers*; which appear'd a great Party. They did not only meet againſt the expreſs Command of their Officers, but drew very conſiderable Parties of the Army to Rendezvous, without the Order or Privity of their Superiors; and there perſwaded them to enter into ſuch Engagements, as would in a ſhort time have diſſolv'd the Government of the Army, and abſolv'd them from a dependence upon their General Officers. The ſuppreſſion of this Licence, put *Cromwell* to the expence of all his cunning, dexterity, and courage; ſo that after he had cajoled the Parliament, as if the preſervation of their Authority had been all he cared for and took to heart, and ſent ſome falſe Brothers to comply in the Counſels of the Conſpirators, by that means having notice of their Rendezvous, he was unexpectedly found with an ordinary Guard at thoſe meetings; and, with a marvellous vivacity, having asked ſome Queſtions of thoſe whom he obſerv'd moſt active, and receiving inſolent Anſwers, he knocked two or three of them in the head with his own hand, and then charged the reſt with his Troop; and took ſuch a number of them as he thought fit; whereof he preſently cauſed ſome to be Hanged, and ſent others to *London* to a more formal Tryal. By two

Cromwell *ſuppreſſes a Tumult of the Levellers.*

or three ſuch Encounters, for the obſtinacy continued long, he totally ſubdued that Spirit in the Army, though it continued and encreaſed very much in the Kingdom; and if it had not been Encounter'd at that time with that rough and brisk temper of *Cromwell*, it would preſently have produced all imaginable confuſion in the Parliament, Army, and Kingdom.

ALL oppoſition being thus ſuppreſſed and quieted, and *Cromwell* needing no other aſſiſtance to the carrying on his deſigns, than the preſent temper and inclination of the Parliament, they ſent a Meſſage to the King, briefly propoſing to him, "that he would forthwith grant his Royal Aſſent to four "Acts of Parliament; which they then ſent to him. By one of them, he was to confeſs the War to have been raiſed by him againſt the Parliament; and ſo that he was guilty of all the Blood that had been ſpilt. By another, he was totally to diſſolve the Government of the Church by Biſhops, and to grant all the Lands belonging to the Church to ſuch uſes as they propoſed; leaving the ſettling a future Government in the place thereof to farther Time and Counſels. By a third, he was to grant, and ſettle the Militia in the Manner and in the Perſons propoſed, reſerving not ſo much power in himſelf as any Subject was capable of. In the laſt place, he was in effect, to Sacrifice all thoſe who had ſerv'd, or adher'd to him, to the Mercy of the Parliament.

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THE Perſons who were ſent with theſe four Bills, had liberty given to expect the King's Anſwer only four days, and were then required to return to the Parliament. With the Commiſſioners of Parliament there came likewiſe the Commiſſioners of *Scotland*, who, after the four Bills were deliver'd, and read to the King, the very next day, deſired an Audience; and, with much formality and confidence, deliver'd a Declaration, and Proteſtation on the behalf of the Kingdom of *Scotland* againſt thoſe Bills and Propoſitions. They ſaid, "they "were ſo prejudicial to Religion, the Crown, and the Union, "and Intereſt of the Kingdoms, and ſo far different from the "former proceedings and engagements between the two King-"doms, that they could not concur therein; and therefore, "in the name of the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*, did declare "their diſſent. The King had receiv'd Advertiſement, that aſſoon as he ſhould refuſe to conſent to the Bills, he ſhould preſently be made a cloſe Priſoner, and all his Servants ſhould be removed from him; upon which, and becauſe the Commiſſioners had no power to treat with him, but were only to receive his poſitive Anſwer, he reſolv'd that his Anſwer ſhould not be known till it was deliver'd to the Parliament; and that, in the mean time, he would endeavour to make his Eſcape, before new Orders could be ſent from *Weſtminſter*: ſo when

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The King gives his Anſwer to the Parliament Commiſſioners.

when the Commiſſioners came to receive his Anſwer, he gave it to them ſealed. The Earl of *Denbigh*, who was the chief of the Commiſſioners, and a Perſon very ungracious to the King, told him, "that though they had no Authority to treat with him, or to do any thing but to receive his Anſwer, yet they were not to be looked upon as Common Meſſengers, and to carry back an Anſwer that they had not ſeen: And, upon the matter, refuſed to receive it; and ſaid, "they would return without any, except they might ſee what they carried.

HIS Majeſty conceiv'd that their return without his Anſwer would be attended with the worſt Conſequences; and therefore he told them, "that he had ſome reaſon for having offer'd to deliver it to them in that manner; but if they would give him their words, that the Communicating it to them ſhould be attended with no prejudice to him, he would open it, and cauſe it to be read, which they readily undertook (as in truth they knew no reaſon to ſuſpect it) and thereupon he open'd it, and gave it one to read. The Anſwer was, "that his Majeſty had always thought it a matter of great difficulty to comply in ſuch a manner with all engaged Intereſts, that a firm and laſting Peace might enſue; in which opinion he was now confirm'd, ſince the Commiſſioners for *Scotland* do ſolemnly proteſt againſt the ſeveral Bills, and Propoſitions, which the two Houſes of Parliament had preſented to him for his Aſſent; ſo that it was not poſſible for him to give ſuch an Anſwer as might be the foundation of a hopeful Peace. He gave them many unanſwerable reaſons, "why he could not paſs the four Bills as they were offer'd to him; which did not only deveſt him of all Soveraignty, and leave him without any poſſibility of recovering it to him or his Succeſſors, but open'd a door for all intolerable oppreſſions upon his Subjects, he granting ſuch an Arbitrary and Illimited Power to the two Houſes. He told them, "that neither the deſire of being freed from that tedious and irkſome Condition of Life, which he had ſo long ſuffer'd, nor the apprehenſion of any thing that might befal him, ſhould ever prevail with him to conſent to any one Act, till the conditions of the whole Peace ſhould be concluded; and then that he would be ready to give all juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction, in all particulars; and for the adjuſting of all this, he knew no way but a Perſonal Treaty (and therefore very earneſtly deſired the two Houſes to conſent to it) to be either at *London*, or any other place they would rather chooſe. Aſſoon as this Anſwer, or to the ſame effect, was read, he deliver'd it to the Commiſſioners; who no ſooner receiv'd it than they kiſſed his hand, and departed for *Weſtminſter*.

Preſently after Hammond *remove the King's old Servants from about him.*

THE Commiſſioners were no ſooner gone than *Hammond* cauſed all the King's Servants, who till then had all Liberty to be with him, to be immediately put out of the Caſtle; and forbid any of them to repair thither any more; and appointed a ſtrong Guard to reſtrain any Body from going to the King, if they ſhould endeavour it. This exceedingly troubled, and ſurpriſed him, being an abſolute diſappointment of all the hope he had left. He told *Hammond*, "that it was not ſuitable to "his engagement, and that it did not become a Man of Honour or Honeſty to treat him ſo, who had ſo freely put "himſelf into his Hands. He asked him, whether the Commiſſioners were acquainted with his purpoſe to proceed in "this manner? To which he Anſwer'd, "that they were not; "but that he had an Order from the Parliament to do as he "had done; and that he ſaw plainly by his Anſwer to the Propoſitions, that he acted by other Counſels than ſtood with "the good of the Kingdom.

THIS inſolent and imperious proceeding, put the Iſland (which was generally inhabited by a People always well affected to the Crown) into a high Mutiny. They ſaid, "they "would not endure to ſee their King ſo uſed, and made a "Priſoner. There was at that time there one Captain *Burly*, who was of a good Family in the Iſland. He had been a Captain of one of the King's Ships, and was put out of his Command when the Fleet Rebell'd againſt the King; and then he put himſelf into the King's Army, where he continued an Officer of good Account to the end of the War, and was in one of the King's Armies General of the Ordnance. When the War was at an end, he repair'd into his own Country, the Iſle of *Wight*; where many of his Family ſtill lived in good Reputation. This Gentleman chanced to be at *Newport*, the chief Town in the Iſland, when the King was thus treated, and when the People ſeem'd generally to reſent it with ſo much indignation; and was ſo much tranſported with the ſame fury, being a Man of more Courage than of Prudence and Circumſpection, that he cauſed a Drum to be preſently beaten, and put himſelf at the head of the People who flocked together, and cryed "for God, the King, and the "People; and ſaid, "he would lead them to the Caſtle, and "reſcue the King from his Captivity. The attempt was preſently diſcern'd to be irrational, and impoſſible; and by the great diligence, and activity of the King's Servants, who had been put out of the Caſtle, the People were quieted, and all Men reſorted to their own Houſes; but the poor Gentleman paid dear for his ill adviſed and precipitate Loyalty. For *Hammond* cauſed him preſently to be made Priſoner; and the Parliament, without delay, ſent down a Commiſſion of *Oyer* and

Thereupon Captain Burly *ſtirs up the People in the Iſland, but is quickly ſuppreſſed, condemn'd, and executed.*

and *Terminer*; in which an infamous Judge, *Wild*, whom they had made Chief Baron of the Exchequer for ſuch Services, preſided; who cauſed poor *Burly* to be, with all formality, Indicted of High Treaſon for Levying War againſt the King, and engaging the Kingdom in a new War; of which the Jury they had brought together, found him guilty; upon which their Judge condemn'd him, and the Honeſt Man was forthwith hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd, with all the circumſtances of Barbarity and Cruelty; which ſtruck a wonderful Terror into all Men, this being the firſt precedent of their having brought any Man to a formal Legal Trial by the Law to deprive him of his Life, and make him guilty of High Treaſon for adhering to the King; and it made a deeper impreſſion upon the hearts of all Men, than all the Cruelties they had yet exerciſed by their Courts of War; which, though they took away the Lives of many Innocent Men, left their Eſtates to their Wives and Children; but when they ſaw now, that they might be condemn'd of High Treaſon before a ſworn Judge of the Law for ſerving the King, by which their Eſtates would be likewiſe Confiſcated, they thought they ſhould be juſtified if they kept their Hearts entire, without being involv'd by their Actions in a Capital Tranſgreſſion.

How the King's Anſwer is receiv'd by the Parliament; and Cromwell's *Speech of the King thereupon.*

UPON the receipt of the King's Anſwer, there appear'd a new Spirit and Temper in the Houſe of Commons; hitherto, no Man had mention'd the King's Perſon without Duty and Reſpect, and only lamented "that he was miſled by evil and "wicked Counſellors; who being removed from him, he "might by the advice of his Parliament govern well enough. But now, upon the refuſal to paſs theſe Bills, every Man's mouth was open'd againſt him with the utmoſt Sawcineſs, and Licence; each Man ſtriving to exceed the other in the impudence and bitterneſs of his Invective. *Cromwell* declared, "that the King was a Man of great parts, and great under- "ſtanding (faculties they had hitherto endeavour'd to have him thought to be without) "but that he was ſo great a diſ- "ſembler, and ſo falſe a Man, that he was not to be truſted. And thereupon, repeated many particulars, whilſt he was in the Army, that his Majeſty wiſh'd that ſuch, and ſuch things might be done, which being done to gratify him, he was diſpleaſed, and complain'd of it: "That whilſt he profeſſed with "all ſolemnity that he referr'd himſelf wholely to the Parlia- "ment, and depended only upon their Wiſdom and Counſel "for the Settlement and Compoſing the Diſtractions of the "Kingdom, he had, at the ſame time, ſecret Treaties with "the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners, how he might imbroil the Nation "in a new War, and deſtroy the Parliament. He concluded, "that they might no farther trouble themſelves with ſending

"Meſſages to him, or farther Propoſitions, but that they might "enter upon thoſe Counſels which were neceſſary towards "the Settlement of the Kingdom, without having farther re"courſe to the King. Thoſe of his Party ſeconded this advice with new Reproaches upon the Perſon of the King, charging him with ſuch abominable Actions, as had been never heard of, and could be only ſuggeſted from the malice of their own Hearts; whilſt Men who had any Modeſty, and abhorr'd that way of proceeding, ſtood amaz'd and confounded at the manner and preſumption of it, and without Courage to give any notable oppoſition to their Rage. So that, after ſeveral days ſpent in paſſionate Debates to this purpoſe, they Voted, "that they would make no more Addreſſes to the "King, but proceed towards ſettling the Government, and "providing for the Peace of the Kingdom, in ſuch manner as "they ſhould judge beſt for the benefit and liberty of the Sub"ject: and a Committee was appointed to prepare a Declaration to inform and ſatisfy the People of this their Reſolution, and the grounds thereof, and to aſſure them, "that they "had Lawful Authority to proceed in this manner. In the mean time, the King, who had, from the time of his coming to the Iſle of *Wight*, enjoy'd the liberty of taking the Air, and refreſhing himſelf throughout the Iſland, and was attended by ſuch Servants as he had appointed, or ſent for, to come thither to him, to the time that he had refuſed to paſs thoſe Bills, from thenceforth was no more ſuffer'd to go out of the Caſtle beyond a little ill Garden that belonged to it. And now, after this Vote of the Houſe of Commons, that there ſhould be no more Addreſſes made to him, all his Servants being removed, a few new Men, for the moſt part, unknown to his Majeſty, were deputed to be about his Perſon to perform all thoſe Offices which they believ'd might be requiſite, and of whoſe Fidelity to themſelves they were as well aſſured, as that they were without any Reverence or Affection to the King.

Vote of no more Addreſſes to the King &c.

IT is very true, that within few days after the King's withdrawing from *Hampton* Court, and after it was known that he was in the Iſle of *Wight*, there was a meeting of the General Officers of the Army at *Windſor*, where *Cromwell* and *Ireton* were preſent, to conſult what ſhould be done with the King. For, though *Cromwell* was weary of the Agitators, and reſolv'd to break their meetings, and though the Parliament concurr'd in all he deſir'd, yet his entire confidence was in the Officers of the Army; who were they who ſwayed the Parliament, and the Army it ſelf, to bring what he intended to paſs. At this conference, the preliminaries whereof were always Faſtings and Prayers, made at the very Council by *Cromwell* or *Ireton*, or ſome other *Inſpired* Perſon, as moſt of the

A meeting of Cromwell and the Officers at Windſor, wherein they deſign the King's Deſtruction.

the Officers were, it was reſolv'd “that the King ſhould be “ proſecuted for his Life as a Criminal Perſon: of which his Majeſty was advertiſed ſpeedily by *Watſon*, Quarter Maſter General of the Army; who was preſent; and had pretended, from the firſt coming of the King to the Army, to have a deſire to ſerve him, and deſired to be now thought to retain it; but the Reſolution was a great ſecret, of which the Parliament had not the leaſt intimation, or jealouſy; but was, as it had been, to be cozen'd by degrees to do what they never intended. Nor was his Majeſty eaſily perſwaded to give credit to the information; but though he expected, and thought it very probable, that they would Murther him, he did not believe they would attempt it with that formality, or let the People know their Intentions. The great approach they made towards it, was, their Declaration “that they would “ make no more Addreſſes to the King, that by an Interregnum they might feel the pulſe of the People, and diſcover how they would ſubmit to another form of Government; and yet all Writs, and Proceſs of Juſtice, and all Commiſſions, ſtill iſſued in the King's Name without his conſent or privity; and little other change or alteration, but that what was before done by the King himſelf, and by his immediate Order, was now perform'd by the Parliament; and, inſtead of Acts of Parliament, they made Ordinances of the two Houſes to ſerve all their occaſions; which found the ſame Obedience from the People.

The Vote of no more Addreſſes ſeconded by a Declaration.

THIS Declaration of no more Addreſſes, contain'd a charge againſt the King of whatſoever had been done amiſs from the beginning of his Government, or before, not without a direct Inſinuation, as if “He had conſpired with the Duke “ of *Buckingham* againſt the life of his Father; the prejudice “ he had brought upon the Proteſtant Religion in Forreign “ parts, by lending his Ships to the King of *France*, who imploy'd them againſt *Rochel*: they renew'd the remembrance, and reproach of all thoſe grievances which had been mention'd in their firſt Remonſtrance of the State of the Kingdom, and repeated all the calumnies which had been contain'd in all their Declarations before and after the War; which had been all ſo fully Anſwer'd by his Majeſty, that the world was convinced of their Rebellion and Treaſon: they charged him with being “ the cauſe of all the blood that had “ been ſpilt, by his having made a War upon his Parliament, ‘ and rejecting all Overtures of Peace which had been made ‘ to him; and in regard of all theſe things, they reſolv'd to ‘ make no more Addreſs to him, but, by their own Authority, to provide for the Peace and Welfare of the Kingdom.

THIS Declaration found much oppoſition in the Houſe of Commons, in reſpect of the particular reproaches they had now caſt upon the Perſon of the King, which they had heretofore, in their own publiſh'd Declarations to the People, charged upon the evil Counſellors, and Perſons about him; and ſome Perſons had been ſentenced, and condemn'd, for thoſe very crimes which they now accuſed his Majeſty of. But there was much more exception to their concluſion from thoſe premiſes, that therefore they would addreſs themſelves no more to him; and *John Maynard*, a Member of the Houſe, and a Lawyer of great eminence, who had too much complied and concurred with their irregular, and unjuſt proceedings, after he had with great vehemence oppoſed, and contradicted the moſt odious Part of their Declaration, told them plainly, "that by this reſolution of making no more "Addreſſes to the King, they did, as far as in Them lay, "diſſolve the Parliament; and that, from the time of that determination, he knew not with what ſecurity, in point of "Law, they could meet together, or any Man joyn with them "in their Counſels: That it was of the Eſſence of Parliament, "that they ſhould upon all occaſions repair to the King; and "that his Majeſty's refuſal at any time to receive their Petitions, or to admit their Addreſſes, had been always held "the higheſt breach of their Privilege, becauſe it tended to "their diſſolution without diſſolving them; and therefore if "they ſhould now, on their parts, determine that they would "receive no more Meſſages from him (which was likewiſe a "part of their Declaration) nor make any more addreſs to "him, they did, upon the matter, declare that they were no "longer a Parliament: and then, how could the People look "upon them as ſuch? This Argumentation being boldly preſs'd by a Man of that Learning and Authority, who had very ſeldom not been believ'd, made a great impreſſion upon all Men who had not proſtituted themſelves to *Cromwell*, and his Party. But the other ſide meant not to maintain their reſolution by diſcourſes, well knowing where their ſtrength lay; and ſo ſtill called for the Queſtion; which was carried by a plurality of Voices, as they foreſaw it would; very many Perſons who abhorr'd the determination, not having Courage to provoke the powerful Men by owning their diſſent; others, ſatiſfying themſelves with the reſolution to withdraw themſelves, and to bear no farther part in the Counſels; which *Maynard* himſelf did; and came no more to the Houſe in very many Months, nor till there ſeem'd to be ſuch an alteration in the minds of Men, that there would be a reverſal of that monſtrous determination; and many others did the ſame.

Mr Maynard's Argument againſt it.

WHEN this Declaration was thus paſſed the Commons, and by them ſent to the Houſe of Peers for their concurrence, the Manner or the Matter was of that importance as to need much Debate; but, with as little formality as was poſſible, it had the concurrence of that Houſe, and was immediately Printed, and publiſhed, and new Orders ſent to the Iſle of *Wight*, for the more ſtrict looking to, and guarding the King, that he might not eſcape.

THE publiſhing this Declaration wrought very different effects in the minds of the People, from what they expected it would produce; and it appear'd to be ſo publickly deteſted, that many who had ſerv'd the Parliament in ſeveral unwarrantable Imployments and Commiſſions, from the beginning of the War, in the City and in the Country, withdrew themſelves from the Service of the Parliament; and much inveigh'd againſt it, for declining all the Principles upon which they had engaged them. Many private Perſons took upon them to publiſh Anſwers to that Declaration, that, the King himſelf being under ſo ſtrict a reſtraint that he could make no Anſwer, the People might not be poyſon'd with the belief of it. And the ſeveral Anſwers of this kind wrought very much upon the People, who open'd their Mouths very loud againſt the Parliament and the Army; and the clamour was encreaſed by the increaſe of Taxes, and Impoſitions, which were raiſed by new Ordinances of Parliament upon the Kingdom; and though they were ſo entirely poſſeſſed of the whole Kingdom, and the Forces and Garriſons thereof, that they had no Enemy to fear or apprehend, yet they disbanded no part of their Army; and notwithſtanding they raiſed incredible Sums of Money, upon the Sale of the Church and the Crown Lands; for which they found Purchaſers enough amongſt their own Party in the City, Army, and Country, and upon compoſition with Delinquents, and the ſale of their Lands who refuſed, or could not be admitted, to compound (which few refuſed to do who could be admitted, in regard that their Eſtates were all under Sequeſtration, and the Rents thereof paid to the Parliament, ſo that till they compounded they had nothing to ſupport themſelves, whereby they were driven into extreme wants and neceſſities, and were compelled to make their Compoſitions, at how unreaſonable rates ſoever, that they might thereby be enabled to ſell ſome part, to preſerve the reſt, and their Houſes from being pulled down, and their Woods from being waſted or ſpoiled) Notwithſtanding all theſe vaſt receipts, which they ever pretended ſhould eaſe the People of their Burthen, and ſhould ſuffice to pay the Army their expences at Sea, and Land, their debts were ſo great, that they raiſed the publick Taxes; and, beſides all Cuſtoms, and Exciſe, they Levied a Monthly Contribution of above a hundred thouſand pounds by a Land Tax throughout the Kingdom; which was more than had been ever done before, and it being at a time when they had no Enemy who contended with them, was an Evidence that it would have no end, and that the Army was ſtill to be kept up, to make good the reſolution they had taken, to have no more to do with the King; and that made the reſolution generally the more odious. All this grew the more inſupportable, by reaſon that upon the publiſhing this laſt monſtrous Declaration, moſt of thoſe Perſons of condition, who, as hath been ſaid before, had been ſeduced to do them Service throughout the Kingdom, declined to appear longer in ſo deteſtable an imployment; and now a more inferior ſort of the common People ſucceeded in thoſe imployments, who thereby exerciſed ſo great inſolence over thoſe who were in Quality above them, and who always had a power over them, that it was very grievous; and for this, let the circumſtances be what they would, no redreſs could be ever obtain'd, all diſtinction of Quality being renounced. They who were not above the condition of ordinary inferior Conſtables, ſix or ſeven years before, were now the Juſtices of Peace, and Sequeſtrators, and Commiſſioners; who executed the Commands of the Parliament, in all the Counties of the Kingdom, with ſuch rigour and Tyranny, as was natural for ſuch Perſons to uſe over and towards thoſe upon whom they had formerly looked at ſuch a diſtance. But let their ſufferings be never ſo great, and the murmur and diſcontent never ſo general, there was no ſhadow of hope by which they might diſcern any poſſible relief: ſo that they who had ſtruggled as long as they were able, ſubmitted patiently to the Yoke, with the more ſatisfaction, in that they ſaw many of thoſe who had been the principal Contrivers of all the miſchiefs to ſatisfy their own Ambition, and that they might govern others, reduced to almoſt as ill a condition as themſelves, at leaſt to as little Power, and Authority, and Security; whilſt the whole Government of the Nation remain'd, upon the matter, wholely in Their hands who in the beginning of the Parliament were ſcarce ever heard of, or their names known but in the places where they inhabited.

THE King being in this melancholick neglected Condition, and the Kingdom poſſeſſed by the new Rulers, without controul, in the new method of Government, where every thing was done, and ſubmitted to, which they propounded, they yet found that there was no foundation laid for their Peace, and future Security; that beſide the general diſcontent of the Nation, which for the preſent they did not fear, they were to expect new Troubles from *Ireland*, and from *Scotland*; which would, in the Progreſs, have an influence upon *England*.

The Affairs of Ireland.

IN *Ireland* (which they had totally neglected from the time of the differences and conteſts between the Parliament and the Army, and from the King's being in the Army) though they were poſſeſſed of *Dublin*, and upon the matter, of the whole Province of *Munſter*, by the activity of the Lord *Inchiquin*, and the Lord *Broghill*; yet the *Iriſh* Rebels had very great Forces, which cover'd all the other parts of the Kingdom. But they had no kind of fears of the *Iriſh*, whom they vanquiſhed as often as they ſaw, and never declined Fighting upon any inequality of Numbers: they had an apprehenſion of another Enemy. The Marquis of *Ormond* had often attended the King at *Hampton* Court, and had great reſort to him, whilſt he ſtay'd in *London*, by all thoſe who had ſerv'd the King, and not leſs by thoſe who were known to be unſatisfy'd with the proceedings both of the Parliament and the Army; and by the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners, who had frequently private Meetings with him; inſomuch as the Officers of the Army, who gave the firſt motion to all extravagant Acts of power, had reſolv'd to have apprehended and impriſon'd him, as a Man worthy of their fear, though they had nothing to charge him with; and by his Articles, he had liberty to ſtay ſix Months where he would in *England* (which time was little more than half expired) and then he might Tranſport himſelf into what part he deſired beyond the Seas. The Marquis had notice of this their purpoſe; and having conferr'd with his Majeſty as much as was neceſſary, upon a reaſonable foreſight of what was like to fall out, ſhortly after, or about the time that the King left *Hampton* Court, he in diſguiſe, and without being attended by more than one Servant, rid into *Suſſex*; and in an obſcure and unguarded Port or Harbour, put himſelf on board a Shallop, which ſafely Tranſported him into *Normandy*; from whence he waited upon the Queen, and the Prince of *Wales*, at *Paris*; to whom he could not but be very welcome.

The Marquis of Ormond *tranſports himſelf out of* England *into* France.

AT the ſame time, there were Commiſſioners arriv'd from *Ireland* from the Confederate Roman Catholicks; who, after they had driven the King's Authority from them, quickly found they needed it for their own preſervation. The Factions grew ſo great amongſt the *Iriſh* themſelves, and the Pope's Nuntio exercifed his Authority with ſo great Tyranny and Inſolence, that all were weary of him; and found that the Parliament, aſſoon as they ſhould ſend more Forces over, would eaſily, by reaſon of their diviſions, reduce them into great ſtreights, and neceſſities. They therefore ſent Commiſſioners to the Queen and Prince to deſire, "that by their favour, they might have the King's Authority again among "them; to which they promiſed, for the future, a ready obedience, with many acknowledgements of their former miſcarriage and ill behaviour. It is very true that the Marquis of *Antrim*, who was one of the Commiſſioners, and was always inſeparable from the higheſt Ambition (though without any Qualifications for any great Truſt) had entertain'd the hope, that by the Queen's favour, who had too good an opinion of him, the Government of *Ireland* ſhould be committed to Him, and his Conduct; which none of the other Commiſſioners thought of, nor had their Eyes fixed on any Man but the Marquis of *Ormond*, in whom the King's Authority was veſted; for he remain'd ſtill Lieutenant of *Ireland* by the King's Commiſſion; and they had reaſon to believe that all the *Engliſh* Proteſtants, who had formerly liv'd under his Government (without a conjunction with whom, they well foreſaw the *Iriſh* would not be able to defend or preſerve themſelves) would return to the ſame obedience, aſſoon as he ſhould return to receive it. The Queen and the Prince thought not of truſting any other in that moſt hazardous and difficult Imployment, and ſo referr'd the Commiſſioners to make all their Overtures, and Propoſitions to him; who knew well enough, what they would not do if they could, and what they could not do if they had a mind to it; and how devoted ſoever he was to the King's Service, nothing propoſed or undertaken by them, could have been the leaſt inducement to him to engage himſelf, and to depend upon their Fidelity. But there were three things, which with the great and entire Zeal for the King's Service, to which he had dedicated himſelf, made him believe that he might with ſome ſucceſs appear again in that Kingdom, in this conjuncture; and that his ſo doing, might have a good effect upon the temper of *England* towards the mending his Majeſty's Condition there.

he Reaſons hat moved he Marquis o go again nto Ireland

FIRST, the Cardinal *Mazarin* (who then abſolutely govern'd *France*) ſeem'd very earneſtly to adviſe it, and promiſed to ſupply him with a good Sum of Money, and ſtore of Armes and Ammunition to carry with him; which he knew very well how to diſpoſe of there. Secondly, he was privy to the *Scotiſh* Engagement, and to a reſolution of many Perſons of great Honour in *England*, to appear in Armes at the ſame time; which was deſign'd for the Summer following; whereby the Parliament, and Army, which were like to have new diviſions amongſt themſelves, would not be able to ſend any conſiderable Supplies into *Ireland*; without which, their Power there, was not like to be Formidable. Thirdly, which was a greater Encouragement than the other two, he had, during his abode in *England*, held a cloſe correſpondence with the Lord *Inchiquin*, Preſident of the Province of *Munſter* in *Ireland*, who had the full Power of Command of all the *Engliſh* Army there; which was a better Body of Men than the Parliament had in any other part of that Kingdom. That Lord was weary of his Maſters, and did not think the Service he had done the Parliament (which indeed had been very great, and without which it is very probable that whole Kingdom had been united to his Majeſty's Service) well requited; and did really and heartily abhor the Proceedings of the Parliament, and Army, towards the King; and did therefore reſolve to redeem what he had formerly done amiſs, with expoſing all he had for his Majeſty's Reſtoration; and had frankly promiſed the Marquis to receive him into *Munſter*, as the King's Lieutenant of that Kingdom; and that That whole Province, and Army, ſhould pay him all Obedience; and that againſt the time he ſhould be ſure of his preſence, he would make a Ceſſation with the *Iriſh* in Order to a firm conjunction of that whole Kingdom for the King. After the Marquis came into *France*, he receiv'd ſtill Letters from that Lord to haſten his Journey thither.

THESE were the Motives which diſpoſed the Marquis to comply with the Queen's, and the Prince's Command to prepare himſelf for that Expedition; and ſo he concerted all things with the *Iriſh* Commiſſioners; who return'd into their Country, with promiſes to diſpoſe their General Aſſembly to conſent to thoſe Conditions as might not bring a greater prejudice to the King, than any conjunction with them could be of advantage.

THE Parliament had too many Spies, and Agents at *Paris*, not to be inform'd of whatſoever was whiſper'd there; but whether they undervalued any conjunction with the *Iriſh* (for of the Lord *Inchiquin* they had no ſuſpicion) or were confident of the Cardinal's kindneſs, that he would not advance any deſign againſt them, they were not ſo apprehenſive of Trouble from *Ireland* as they were of their Brethren from *Scotland*; where they heard of great preparations, and of a purpoſe to call a Parliament, and to raiſe an Army; which, they believ'd, would find too many Friends in *England*, the Presbyterian Party holding up their Heads again, both in the Parliament, and the City. Beſides, they knew that ſome Perſons of Quality and Intereſt, who had ſerv'd the King in good Command in the late War, were gone into *Scotland*, and well receiv'd there; which, they thought, would draw the King's Party together upon the firſt appearance.

AFTER the King had been ſo infamouſly deliver'd up to the Parliament by the *Scots* at *New-Caſtle*, and aſſoon as the

Army had poſſeſſed themſelves of him, that Nation was in terrible Apprehenſion that the Officers of the Army would have made their Peace, and eſtabliſhed their own greatneſs by reſtoring the King to his juſt Rights, of which they had ſo fouly depriv'd him; and then the conſcience of their guilt made them preſume, what Their Lot muſt be; and therefore, the ſame Commiſſioners who had been joyn'd with the Committee of Parliament in all the Tranſactions, made haſt to *Weſtminſter* again to their old Seats, to keep their Intereſt; which was great in all the Presbyterian Party, both of Parliament and City; for there remain'd ſtill the ſame profeſſion of maintaining the ſtrict Union between the two Kingdoms, and that all Tranſactions ſhould be by joynt Counſels. And aſſoon as the King appear'd with ſome ſhew of Liberty, and his own Servants had leave to attend him, no Men appear'd with more confidence than the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners; the Earl of *Lowden*, the Earl of *Lautherdale*, and the reſt; as if they had been the Men who had contriv'd his Reſtoration: No Men in ſo frequent Whiſpers with the King; and they found ſome way to get themſelves ſo much believ'd by the Queen, with whom they held a diligent Correſpondence, that her Majeſty very earneſtly perſwaded the King "to truſt them, "as the only Perſons who had Power and Credit to do him "Service, and to redeem him from the Captivity he was in. Duke *Hamilton*, who had been ſent Priſoner by the King to the Caſtle of *Pendennis*, and had been deliver'd from thence by the Army, when that place was taken in the end of the War, had enjoyed his Liberty at *London*, and in his own Houſe at *Chelſey*, as long as he thought fit, that is, near as long as the King was with the *Scotiſh* Army and at *New-Caſtle*; and ſome time before his Majeſty was deliver'd up to the Parliament Commiſſioners, he went into *Scotland* to his own Houſe at *Hamilton*; looked upon by that Nation as one who had unjuſtly ſuffer'd under the King's Jealouſy, and diſpleaſure, and who remain'd ſtill very faithful to him; and during the time that he remain'd in and about *London*, he found means to converſe with many of the King's Party, and made great profeſſions that he would do the King a very ſignal Service, which he deſired them to aſſure his Majeſty of; and ſeem'd exceedingly troubled and aſhamed at his Country Men's giving up the King. His having no ſhare in that infamy made him the more truſted in *England*, and to be receiv'd with the more reſpect in *Scotland* by all thoſe who abhorr'd that Tranſaction.

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ilton *goes*
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THE Commiſſioners who attended his Majeſty, made great Apologies for what had been done, imputing it wholely to the "malice and power of the Marquis of *Argyle*, and to his

"Credit, and Authority in the Council, and in the Army; "ſo that nothing could be done which was deſired by Honeſt "Men; but that now Duke *Hamilton* was amongſt them, "who they knew was moſt devoted to his Majeſty, they "ſhould be able to over-power *Argyle*; and the proceedings "of the Army and the Parliament, were ſo foul, and ſo contrary to their publick Faith, that they were confident that "all *Scotland* would riſe as one Man for his Majeſty's defence "and vindication; and they were well aſſured, there would "ſuch a Party in *England* of thoſe who were faithful to his Ma"jeſty, appear at the ſame time, that there would be little "queſtion of being able, between them, to be hard enough "for that part of the Army that would oppoſe them; which his Majeſty knew well was reſolv'd by many Perſons of Honour, who afterwards perform'd what they had promiſed.

The Commiſſioners of Scotland's *private Treaty with the King at* Hampton *Court.*

WHEN the Commiſſioners had, by theſe Inſinuations, gain'd new Credit with the King, and had undertaken, that their Invading *England* with an Army equal to the undertaking, ſhould be the foundation upon which all other hopes were to depend (for no attempt in *England* could be reaſonable before ſuch an Invaſion, which was likewiſe to be haſten'd, that it might be at the ſame time when the Marquis of *Ormond* ſhould appear in *Ireland*) they begun to propoſe many Conditions, which would be neceſſary for his Majeſty to engage himſelf to perform towards that Nation; without which it would not be eaſy to induce it into ſo unanimous a Conſent and Engagement, as was neceſſary for ſuch an Enterpriſe. They required, as a thing without which nothing was to be undertaken, "that the Prince of *Wales* ſhould be preſent with "them, and march in the head of their Army; and deſired "that advertiſement, and order, might be ſent to that pur"poſe to the Queen, and the Prince, at *Paris*; that ſo his "Highneſs might be ready for the Voyage, aſſoon as they "ſhould be prepared to receive him. The King would by no means conſent that the Prince ſhould go into *Scotland*, being too well acquainted with the manners and fidelity of that Party there; but he was contented, that when they ſhould have enter'd *England* with their Army, then the Prince of *Wales* ſhould put himſelf in the head of them. They demanded, "that ſuch a number of *Scots*-men ſhould be always in the "Court, of the Bed-Chamber, and all other places about the "Perſons of the King, and Prince, and Duke of *York*: That "*Berwick* and *Carliſle*, ſhould be put into the hands of the "*Scots*; and ſome other Conceſſions with reference to the Northern Counties; which trenched ſo far upon the Honour and Intereſt of the *Engliſh*, that his Majeſty utterly refuſed to conſent to it; and ſo the Agreement was not concluded

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when the King left *Hampton* Court. But, aſſoon as he was at the Iſle of *Wight*, the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners repaired to him, at the ſame time with thoſe who were ſent to him from the Parliament for his Royal Aſſent to thoſe four Bills ſpoken of before; then, in that ſeaſon of deſpair, they prevailed with him to Sign the Propoſitions he had formerly refuſed; and, having great apprehenſion from the Jealouſies they knew the Army had of them, that they ſhould be ſeiſed upon, and ſearched in their return to *London*, they made up their precious Contract in Lead; and buried it in a Garden in the Iſle of *Wight*; from whence they eaſily found means afterwards to receive it. So conſtant were thoſe Men to their Principles, and ſo wary to be ſure to be no loſers by returning to their Allegiance; to which neither Conſcience nor Honour did invite or diſpoſe them. So after a ſtay of ſome Months at *London* to adjuſt all Accounts, and receive the remainder of thoſe Monies they had ſo dearly Earn'd, or ſo much of it as they had hope would be paid, they return'd to *Scotland*, with the hatred and contempt of the Army, and the Parliament, that was then govern'd by it; but with the veneration of the Preſbyterian Party, which ſtill had faith in them, and exceedingly depended upon their future Negotiation; which was now incumbent upon them: and in order thereunto, a faſt intercourſe and correſpondence was ſettled, as well by conſtant Letters, as by frequent Emiſſaries of their Clergy, or other Perſons, whoſe devotion to their Combination was unqueſtionable.

IT can never be enough wonder'd at that the *Scotiſh* Preſbyterians, being a watchful and crafty People, the principal of whom were as unreſtrain'd by Conſcience as any of the Officers of the Army were, and only intended their particular advantage and ambition, ſhould yet hope to carry on their Intereſt by ſuch conditions, and limitations, as all wiſe Men ſaw muſt abſolutely ruin and deſtroy it. They knew well enough the Spirit of their own People, and that though it would be no hard matter to draw a numerous Army enough together, yet that being together it would be able to do very little towards any vigorous attempt; and therefore their chief dependence was upon the Aſſiſtance they ſhould find ready to joyn with them in *England*. It is true, they did believe the Body of the Presbyterians in *England* to be much more conſiderable than in truth it was; yet they did, or might have known, that the moſt conſiderable Perſons who in the conteſt with the other Faction were content to be thought Presbyterians, were ſo only as they thought it might reſtore the King; which they more impatiently deſired, than any alteration in the Government of the Church; and that they did heartily intend a conjunction with all the Royal Party, upon whoſe Intereſt, Conduct, and Courage, they did more rely than upon the power of the *Scots*; who did publickly profeſs that all the King's Friends ſhould be moſt welcome, and receiv'd by them; nor did they truſt any one Presbyterian in *England* with the knowledge of the Particulars contain'd in the Agreement with the King; but concealed it between the three Perſons who tranſacted it; and if it had been known, *Cromwell* might as eaſily have overrun the Country before their Army Invaded *England*, as he did afterwards; nor would one *Engliſh* Man have joyn'd with them. Beſides the infamous Circumſtances by which they extorted Conceſſions from the King, which would have render'd any Contract odious (it being made in thoſe four days, which were all that were aſſign'd both to the *Engliſh* and *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners, ſo that his Majeſty had not only no time to adviſe with others, but could not adviſe with Himſelf upon ſo many monſtrous Particulars as were demanded of him by both Kingdoms; which if he could have done, he would no more then have ſubmitted to them, than he did afterwards upon long deliberation, and when his Life appear'd to be in more manifeſt danger by his refuſal) the Particulars themſelves were the moſt ſcandalous, and derogatory to the Honour and Intereſt of the *Engliſh* Nation; and would have been abominated, if known and underſtood, by all Men, with all poſſible indignation.

The ſubſtance of the Treaty Sign'd the 26. of Dec. 1647.

AFTER they had made his Majeſty give a good Teſtimony of their League and Covenant, in the Preface of their Agreement, and "that the intentions of thoſe who had enter'd into "it, were real for the preſervation of his Majeſty's Perſon "and Authority, according to their Allegiance, and no ways "to diminiſh his juſt Power and Greatneſs, they obliged him "aſſoon as he could, with Freedom, Honour, and Safety, be "preſent in a free Parliament, to confirm the ſaid League and "Covenant by Act of Parliament in both Kingdoms, for the "ſecurity of all who had taken, or ſhould take it. It is true, they admitted a Proviſo, "that none who was unwilling, "ſhould be conſtrain'd to take it. They likewiſe oblig'd his Majeſty "to confirm by Act of Parliament in *England*, Preſ"byterian Government; the Directory for worſhip; and the "Aſſembly of Divines at *Weſtminſter*, for three years; ſo that "his Majeſty, and his Houſhold, ſhould not be hinder'd from "uſing that form of Divine Service he had formerly practiced; "and that during thoſe three years there ſhould be a Conſul"tation with the Aſſembly of Divines, to which twenty of "the King's nomination ſhould be added, and ſome from the "Church of *Scotland*; and thereupon it ſhould be determin'd "by his Majeſty, and the two Houſes of Parliament, what "form of Government ſhould be eſtabliſh'd after the expira-

“ tion of thoſe years, as ſhould be moſt agreeable to the word
“ of God: that an effectual courſe ſhould be taken by Act of
“ Parliament, and all other ways needful or expedient, for the
“ ſuppreſſing the opinions and practices of Anti-Trinitarians,
“ Arians, Socinians, Anti-Scripturiſts, Anabaptiſts, Antinomians,
“ Arminians, Famyliſts, Browniſts, Separatiſts, Independents,
“ Libertines, and Seekers, and, generally, for the
“ ſuppreſſing all Blaſphemy, Hereſy, Schiſm, and all ſuch
“ ſcandalous Doctrines and practices as are contrary to the
“ light of Nature, and to the known Principles of Chriſtianity,
“ whether concerning Faith, Worſhip, or Converſation,
“ or the power of Godlineſs, or which may be deſtructive
“ to Order and Government, or to the Peace of the
“ Church or Kingdom. The King promiſed, “ that in the
“ next Seſſion of Parliament, after the Kingdom of *Scotland*
“ ſhould declare for his Majeſty, in purſuance of this Agreement,
“ he ſhould in Perſon, or by Commiſſion, confirm the
“ League and Covenant in that Kingdom; and concerning
“ all the Acts paſſed in the laſt Parliament of that Kingdom,
his Majeſty declared, “ that he ſhould then likewiſe be content
“ to give aſſurance by Act of Parliament, that neither
“ He, nor his Succeſſors, ſhould Quarrel, call in Queſtion, or
“ command the contrary of any of them, nor queſtion any for
“ giving Obedience to the ſame. Then they made a long recital
of “ the Agreement the Parliament of *England* had made,
“ when the *Scots* Army return'd to *Scotland*, that the Army
“ under *Fairfax* ſhould be diſbanded; and of that Army's ſubmitting
“ thereunto; of their taking the King from *Holmby*,
“ and keeping him Priſoner till he fled from them to the Iſle
“ of *Wight*; and ſince that time both his Majeſty, and the
“ Commiſſioners for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, had very earneſtly
“ deſired that the King might come to *London*, in ſafety,
“ honour, and freedom, for a Perſonal Treaty with the two
“ Houſes and the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*;
“ which, they ſaid, had been granted, but that the Army
“ had, in violent manner, forced away divers Members of the
“ Parliament from the diſcharge of their truſt, and poſſeſſed
“ themſelves of the City of *London*, and all the ſtrengths, and
“ Garriſons of the Kingdoms: And that by the ſtrength, and
“ influence of that Army, and their adherents, Propoſitions
“ and Bills had been ſent to the King without the advice and
“ conſent of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, contrary to the Treaties
“ which are between the two Kingdoms, and deſtructive to
“ Religion, his Majeſty's juſt Rights, the Privileges of Parliament,
“ and Liberty of the Subject; from which Propoſitions,
“ and Bills, the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners had diſſented, and proteſted
“ againſt, in the name of the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

After this preamble, and recital, they ſaid, "that foraſmuch as his Majeſty is willing to give ſatisfaction concerning the ſettling Religion, and other matters in difference, as is expreſt in this Agreement, the Kingdom of *Scotland* doth oblige and engage it ſelf, firſt, in a peaceable way and manner to endeavour that the King may come to *London* in ſafety, honour, and freedom, for a Perſonal Treaty with the Houſes of Parliament and the Commiſſioners of *Scotland*, upon ſuch Propoſitions as ſhould be mutually agreed on between the Kingdoms, and ſuch Propoſitions as his Majeſty ſhould think fit to make; and for this end all Armies ſhould be disbanded; and in caſe that this ſhould not be granted, that Declarations ſhould be emitted by the Kingdom of *Scotland* in purſuance of this Agreement, againſt the unjuſt proceedings of the two Houſes of Parliament towards his Majeſty and the Kingdom of *Scotland*; in which they would aſſert the Right that belonged to the Crown, in the power of the Militia, the Great Seal, beſtowing of Honours and Offices of Truſt, choice of the Privy Counſellors, and the Right of the King's Negative Voice in Parliament: And that the Queen's Majeſty, the Prince, and the reſt of the Royal Iſſue, ought to remain where his Majeſty ſhall think fit in either of his Kingdoms, with ſafety, honour, and freedom: That, upon the iſſuing out this Declaration, an Army ſhould be ſent out of *Scotland* into *England*, for the preſervation, and eſtabliſhment of Religion; for defence of his Majeſty's Perſon, and Authority, and reſtoring him to his Government, to the juſt Rights of the Crown, and his full Revenues; for defence of the Privileges of Parliament, and Liberties of the Subject; for making a firm Union between the Kingdoms under his Majeſty, and his Poſterity, and ſettling a laſting Peace. In purſuance whereof, the ingdom of *Scotland* was to endeavour "that there might be a free and full Parliament in *England*, and that his Majeſty may be with them in honour, ſafety, and freedom; and that a ſpeedy period be ſet to the preſent Parliament. And they undertook, that the Army which they would raiſe, ſhould be upon its march, before the Meſſage and Declaration ſhould be deliver'd to the Houſes. It was farther agreed, "that all ſuch in the Kingdoms of *England*, and *Ireland*, as would joyn with the Kingdom of *Scotland* in purſuance of this Agreement, ſhould be protected by his Majeſty in their Perſons, and Eſtates; and that all his Majeſty's Subjects in *England* or *Ireland* who would joyn with him, in purſuance of this Agreement, might come to the *Scotiſh* Army, and joyn with them, or elſe put themſelves into other Bodies in *England* or *Wales*, for proſecution of the ſame ends, as "the King's Majeſty ſhould judge moſt convenient, and under ſuch Commanders, or Generals of the *Engliſh* Nation, as his Majeſty ſhould think fit: And that all ſuch ſhould be protected by the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and their Army, in their Perſons and Eſtates; and where any injury or wrong is done unto them, they would be careful to ſee them fully repaired, as far as it ſhould be in their power to do; and likewiſe when any injury or wrong is done to thoſe who joyn with the Kingdom of *Scotland*, his Majeſty ſhall be careful of their full reparation.

THEY obliged his Majeſty to promiſe "that neither himſelf, nor any by his Authority or Knowledge, ſhould make or admit of any Ceſſation, Pacification, or Agreement whatſoever for Peace, nor of any Treaty, Propoſitions, Bills, or any other ways for that end, with the Houſes of Parliament, or any Army or Party in *England*, or *Ireland*, without the advice and conſent of the Kingdom of *Scotland*; and, reciprocally, that neither the Kingdom of *Scotland*, nor any having their Authority, ſhould make or admit of any of theſe any manner of way, with any whatſoever, without his Majeſty's advice or conſent: And that, upon the ſetlement of a Peace, there ſhould be an Act of Oblivion to be agreed on by his Majeſty, and both his Parliaments of both Kingdoms: That his Majeſty, the Prince, or both, ſhould come into *Scotland* upon the invitation of that Kingdom, and their Declaration, that they ſhould be in honour, freedom, and ſafety, when poſſibly they could come with ſafety, and convenience; and that the King ſhould contribute his utmoſt endeavour, both at home and abroad, for aſſiſting the Kingdom of *Scotland* for carrying on this War by Sea and Land, and for their Supplies by Monies, Armes, Ammunition, and all other things requiſite, as alſo for guarding the Coaſts of *Scotland* with Ships, and protecting all their Merchants in the free exerciſe of their Trade and Commerce with other Nations; and likewiſe that his Majeſty was willing, and did Authorize the *Scotiſh* Army to poſſeſs themſelves of *Berwick*, *Carliſle*, *New-Caſtle* upon *Tyne*, with the Caſtle of *Tinmouth*, and the Town of *Hartlepool*: thoſe places to be for Retreat, and Magazines; and that, when the Peace of the Kingdom ſhould be ſettled, the Kingdom of *Scotland* ſhould remove their Forces, and deliver back again thoſe Towns and Caſtles.

AND as if all this had not been recompence enough for the wonderful Service they were like to perform, they obliged the King to promiſe and undertake to pay, the remainder of that Brotherly Aſſiſtance which was yet unpaid upon the large Treaty after their firſt Invaſion of *England*, and likewiſe

o hundred thouſand pounds, which remain'd ſtill due upon
laſt Treaty made with the Houſes of Parliament for re-
n of the *Scotiſh* Army, when they had deliver'd up the
ng; and alſo, "that payment ſhould be made to the King-
om of *Scotland*, for the charge, and expence of their Ar-
ny in this future War, with due recompence for the loſſes
hich they ſhould ſuſtain therein; and that due ſatisfaction,
ccording to the Treaty on that behalf betwixt the two
ingdoms, ſhould be made to the *Scotiſh* Army in *Ireland*,
ut of the Lands of the Kingdom, or otherwiſe: And that
e King, according to the intentions of his Father, ſhould
ndeavour a compleat Union of the two Kingdoms, ſo as
ey may be one under his Majeſty, and his Poſterity; or
that cannot ſpeedily be effected, that all Liberties and
rivileges, concerning Commerce, Traffick, Manufactures,
eculiar to the Subjects of either Nation, ſhall be common
the Subjects of both Kingdoms without diſtinction; and
at there be a Communication, and mutual capacity, of
l other Liberties of the Subjects in the two Kingdoms:
hat a competent number of Ships ſhould be yearly aſ-
gn'd, and appointed out of his Majeſty's Navy, which
ould attend the Coaſts of *Scotland*, for a Guard, and free-
om of Trade of that Nation; and that his Majeſty ſhould
eclare that his Succeſſors, as well as Himſelf, are obliged
the performance of the Articles, and Conditions of this
greement; but that his Majeſty ſhall not be obliged to the
erformance of the aforeſaid Articles, until the Kingdom of
otland ſhall declare for him in purſuance of this Agree-
ent; and that the whole Articles, and Conditions afore-
id, ſhall be finiſhed, perfected, and perform'd, before the
turn of the *Scotiſh* Army; and that when they return into
otland, at the ſame time, *ſimul & ſemel*, all Armies ſhould
disbanded in *England*. And for a compliment, and to
a reliſh to all the reſt, the King engaged himſelf "to
nploy thoſe of the *Scotiſh* Nation equally with the *Engliſh*
all Forreign Imployments, and Negotiations; and that a
ird part of all the Offices and Places about the King,
ueen, and Prince, ſhould be conferr'd upon ſome Per-
ns of that Nation; and that the King and Prince, or one
them, will frequently reſide in *Scotland*, that the Subjects
that Kingdom may be known to them. This Treaty and
cement being thus preſented to the King by the *Scotiſh*
nmiſſioners in the Caſtle of *Cariſbrook*, his Majeſty was
vailed with to ſign the ſame the 26th day of *December*
7; and to oblige himſelf, "in the word of a King, to
rform His part of the ſaid Articles; and the Earl of *Low-*
Chancellor of *Scotland*, and the Earl of *Lautherdale*, and
the

the Earl of *Lanrick*, being intruſted as Commiſſioners from that Kingdom, ſign'd it likewiſe at the ſame time; and engaged themſelves "upon their Honour, Faith, and Conſcience, "and all that is dear to Honeſt Men, to endeavour to the utmoſt of their power, that the Kingdom of *Scotland* ſhould "engage to perform what was on its part to be perform'd; "which they were confident the Kingdom of *Scotland* would "do, and they themſelves would hazard their Lives and Fortunes in purſuance thereof.

No Man, who reads this Treaty (which very few Men have ever done) can wonder that ſuch an Engagement met with the fate that attended it; which contain'd ſo many monſtrous Conceſſions, that, except the whole Kingdom of *England* had been likewiſe impriſon'd in *Carisbrook* Caſtle with the King, it could not be imagined that it was poſſible to be performed; and the three Perſons who were Parties to it, were too wiſe to believe that it could be punctually obſerv'd; which they uſed as the beſt Argument, and which only prevailed with the King, "that the Treaty was only made to "enable them to engage the Kingdom of *Scotland* to raiſe an "Army, and to unite it in his Majeſty's Service; which leſs "than thoſe Conceſſions would never induce them to do; "but when that Army ſhould be enter'd into *England*, and "ſo many other Armies ſhould be on foot of his *Engliſh* Subjects for the vindication of his Intereſt, there would be no "body to exact all thoſe particulars; but every Body would "ſubmit to what his Majeſty ſhould think fit to be done; which though it had been urged more than once before to induce the King to conſent to other inconveniencies, which they would never after releaſe to him, did prevail with him at this time. And, to confirm him in the belief of it, they were contented that it ſhould be inſerted under the ſame Treaty, as it was, "that his Majeſty did declare, that by "the Clauſe of confirming Presbyterian Government by Act "of Parliament, he is neither obliged to deſire the ſettling "Presbyterian Government, nor to preſent any Bills to that "effect; and that he likewiſe underſtands that no Perſon "whatſoever ſhall ſuffer in his Eſtate, nor undergo any Corporal puniſhment, for not ſubmitting to Presbyterian Government; his Majeſty underſtanding that this indemnity "ſhould not extend to thoſe who are mention'd in the Article "againſt Toleration: and to this the three Earls likewiſe ſubſcribed their hands, "as Witneſſes only, as they ſaid, that his "Majeſty had made that Declaration in their preſence, no "as Aſſenters; ſo wary they were of adminiſtring jealouſy to their Maſters, or of being thought to be leſs rigid in ſo Fundamental a Point, as they knew that would be thought to be

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The Author's judgement of the different Conduct of the two Parties, the Independent English *and the Presbyterian* Scots.

THERE was a wonderful difference, throughout their hole proceedings, between the heads of thoſe who were ought to ſway the Presbyterian Counſels, and thoſe who vern'd the Independents, though they were equally Maſters diſſimulation, and had equally malice and wickedneſs in eir Intentions, though not of the ſame kind, and were equally reſtrain'd by any ſcruples or motions of Conſcience, the Inpendents always doing that, which how ill and unjuſtifiie ſoever, contributed ſtill to the end they aimed at, and the concluſion they meant to bring to paſs; whereas the esbyterians, for the moſt part, did ſomewhat that reaſonly muſt deſtroy their own end, and croſs that which they ſt and principally deſign'd; and there were two Reaſons at might naturally produce this ill Succeſs to the Latter, at aſt hinder'd the even progreſs and current which favour'd e other. Firſt, their Councils were moſt diſtracted and vided, being made up of many Men, whoſe humours and tures muſt be obſerv'd, and complied with, and whoſe conrrence was neceſſary to the carrying on the ſame deſigns, ough their Inclinations did not concur in them; whereas e other Party was entirely led and govern'd by two or three, whom they reſign'd, implicitely, the conduct of their Inreſt; who advanced, when they ſaw it ſeaſonable, and ſtood ll, or retired, or even declined the way they beſt liked, hen they ſaw any inconvenient jealouſy awaken'd by the rogreſs they had made.

IN the ſecond place, the Presbyterians, by whom I mean e *Scots*, form'd all their Counſels by the Inclinations, and ffections of the People; and firſt conſider'd how they might orrupt, and ſeduce, and diſpoſe them to ſecond their puroſes; and how far they might depend upon their concurrence nd aſſiſtance, before they reſolv'd to make any attempt; and is made them in ſuch a degree ſubmit to their ſenſeleſs, and retched Clergy; whoſe infectious breath corrupted, and goern'd the People, and whoſe Authority was prevalent upon eir own Wives, and in their Domeſtick Affairs; and yet ey never communicated to them more than the outſide of eir deſigns: Whereas, on the other ſide, *Cromwell*, and the w others with whom he Conſulted, firſt conſider'd what was ſolutely neceſſary to their main and determin'd end; and en, whether it were right or wrong, to make all other means bſervient to it; to couzen and deceive Men, as long as ey could induce them to contribute to what they deſired, pon Motives how forreign ſoever; and when they would ep company with them no longer, or farther ſerve their rpoſes, to compel them by force to ſubmit to what they ould not be able to oppoſe; and ſo the one reſolv'd, only to do what they believ'd the People would like and approve and the other, that the People ſhould like and approve wha they had reſolv'd. And this difference in the meaſures the took, was the true cauſe of ſo different Succeſs in all they undertook. *Machiavel*, in this, was in the right, though he go an ill name by it with thoſe who take what he ſays from the report of other Men, or do not enough conſider themſelve what he ſays, and his method in ſpeaking: (He was as grea an Enemy to Tyranny and Injuſtice in any Government, a any Man then was, or now is; and ſays) "that a Man were better be a Dog than be ſubject to thoſe Paſſions and Appetites, which poſſeſs all Unjuſt, and Ambitious, and Tyrannical Perſons; but he confeſſes, "that they who are ſo tranſported, and have entertain'd ſuch wicked deſigns as are void of all Conſcience, muſt not think to proſecute them by the rules of Conſcience, which was laid aſide, or ſubdued, before they enter'd upon them; they muſt make no ſcruple o doing all thoſe impious things which are neceſſary to compaſs and ſupport the Impiety to which they have devoted themſelves; and therefore he commends *Cæſar Borgia* fo not being ſtartled with breach of Faith, Perjuries, and Murthers, for the removal of thoſe Men who he was ſure would croſs, and enervate the whole Enterpriſe he had reſolv'd, and addicted himſelf to; and blames thoſe Uſurpers, who had made themſelves Tyrants, for hoping to ſupport a Government by Juſtice, which they had aſſumed unjuſtly, and which having wickedly attempted, they manifeſtly loſt by not being wicked enough. The common old Adage, "that he who hath drawn his Sword againſt his Prince, ought to throw away the Scabbard, never to think of ſheathing it again, will ſtill hold good; and they who enter upon unwarrantable Enterpriſes, muſt purſue many unwarrantable way to preſerve themſelves from the penalty of the firſt guilt.

CROMWELL, though the greateſt Diſſembler living, always made his Hypocriſy of ſingular uſe and benefit to him and never did any thing, how ungracious or imprudent ſoeve it ſeem'd to be, but what was neceſſary to the deſign; eve his roughneſs and unpoliſhedneſs, which, in the beginning o the Parliament, he affected contrary to the ſmoothneſs, an complacency, which his Couſin, and boſom Friend, Mr *Hambden* practiced towards all Men, was neceſſary; and his firſ publick Declaration, in the beginning of the War, to h Troop when it was firſt Muſter'd, "that he would not deceiv or couzen them by the perplexed and involv'd expreſſio in his Commiſſion, to Fight for King and Parliament; an therefore told them, "that if the King chanced to be in th Body of the Enemy that he was to Charge, he would a

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ſoon diſcharge his Piſtol upon him, as any other private
Perſon; and if their Conſcience would not permit them to
do the like, he adviſed them not to liſt themſelves in his
Troop, or under his Command; which was generally look-
upon as imprudent, and malicious, and might, by the pro-
ſſions the Parliament then made, have prov'd dangerous to
m; yet ſerv'd his turn, and ſever'd from others, and united
nong themſelves, all the furious, and incenſed Men againſt
e Government, whether Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, to look up-
him as a Man for their turn, upon whom they might de-
nd, as one who would go through his work that he under-
ok. And his ſtrict and unſociable Humour in not keeping
mpany with the other Officers of the Army in their Jollities,
d Exceſſes, to which moſt of the ſuperior Officers under the
arl of *Eſſex* were inclined, and by which he often made
mſelf ridiculous or contemptible, drew all thoſe of the like
ur or reſerv'd Natures, to his Society and Converſation, and
ave him opportunity to form their Underſtandings, Inclina-
ons, and Reſolutions, to his own Model. By this he grew
have a wonderful Intereſt in the Common Soldiers, out of
hich, as his Authority increaſed, he made all his Officers,
ell inſtructed how to live in the ſame manner with their
oldiers, that they might be able to apply them to their own
urpoſes: whilſt he looked upon the Presbyterian Humour
the beſt incentive to Rebellion, no Man more a Presby-
rian; he ſung all Pſalms with them to their Tunes, and
v'd the longeſt Sermons as much as they; but when he diſ-
ver'd that they would preſcribe ſome limits and bounds to
eir Rebellion, that it was not well breathed, and would ex-
re aſſoon as ſome few particulars were granted to them in
eligion, which he cared not for; and then that the Go-
rnment muſt run ſtill in the ſame Chanel; it concern'd
m to make it believ'd "that the State had been more De-
inquent than the Church, and that the People ſuffer'd more
by the Civil than by the Eccleſiaſtical Power; and therefore
that the Change of one, would give them little eaſe, if there
were not as great an alteration in the other, and if the
whole Government in both were not reform'd, and alter'd;
hich though it made him generally odious at firſt, and ir-
onciled many of his old Friends to him; yet it made thoſe
o remain'd, more cordial and firm: he could better com-
e his own ſtrength, and upon whom he might depend.
is diſcovery made him contrive the new Model of the
my; which was the moſt unpopular Act, and diſobliged all
ſe who firſt contrived the Rebellion, and who were the
y Soul of it; and yet, if he had not brought that to paſs,
and

and changed a General, who, though not very ſharp-ſighted would never be govern'd, nor applied to any thing he di not like, for another who had no Eyes, and ſo would be willing to be led, all his deſigns muſt have come to nothing and He remain'd a private Colonel of Horſe, not conſiderable enough to be in any figure upon an advantageous Compoſition.

AFTER all the Succeſſes of his new Model, he ſaw hi Army was ballanced by that of the *Scots*, who took themſelve to have equal merit with the other, and was thought to hav contributed no leſs towards the ſuppreſſion of the King, tha that under *Fairfax* had done; and after all the Victories, an Reduction of the King to that lowneſs, deſired ſtill a compoſition, and to ſubmit again to the Subjection of the King; no was it yet time for him to own or communicate his reſolutio to the contrary, leſt even many of thoſe who wiſhed the extirpation of Monarchy, might be ſtartled at the difficulty o the Enterpriſe, and with the Power that was like to oppoſ them. He was therefore firſt to incenſe the People againſt th *Scotiſh* Nation, “as being a mercenary aid, entertain'd at “vaſt Charge to the Kingdom, that was only to be paid thei “Wages, and to be diſmiſſed, without having the honour t “judge with them upon what conditions the King ſhoul “be receiv'd, and reſtored; the accompliſhing whereof, ough “to be the particular Glory of the Parliament without a Ri“val, and that the King might owe the benefit wholely t “them. And this was as popular an Argument as he coul embark himſelf in, the whole Kingdom in general having a that time a great deteſtation of the *Scots*; and they who moſ deſired the King's Reſtoration, wiſh'd that he might have a little obligation to them as was poſſible, and that they migh have as little credit afterwards with him. With this univerſal Applauſe, he compelled the *Scotiſh* Army to depart th Kingdom, with that circumſtance as muſt ever after rende them odious and infamous. There now ſeem'd nothing mor dangerous and deſtructive to the power and intereſt of th *Engliſh* Army, in ſo general a diſcontent throughout the Kingdom, than a diviſion, and mutiny within it ſelf; that th Common Soldiers ſhould erect an Authority diſtinct from thei Officers, by which they would chooſe to govern againſt thei Superior Commanders, at leaſt without them, and to fanc that they had an Intereſt of their own ſever'd from their for the preſervation whereof they were to truſt none but themſelves; which had ſcarce ever been heard of before in an Army, and was looked upon as a preſage of the ruin of th whole, and of thoſe who had adhered to them; yet, if he ha not raiſed this ſeditious Spirit in the Army, he could not have prevented the disbanding ſome part of it, and ſending another part of it into *Ireland*, before the *Scots* left *New Caſtle*; nor have been able to have taken the King from *Holmby* into the hands of the Army, after the *Scots* were gone. And after all his Hypocriſy towards the King and his Party, by which he prevented many inconveniencies which might have befallen him, he could never have been rid of him again ſo unreproachfully, as by his changing his own countenance, and giving cauſe to the King to ſuſpect the ſafety of his Perſon, and thereupon to make his Eſcape from the Army; by which his Majeſty quickly became a Priſoner, and ſo was depriv'd of any reſort, from whence many miſchiefs might have proceeded to have diſturbed his Counſels. How conſtantly he purſued this method in his ſubſequent Actions, will be obſerv'd in its place.

CONTRARY to this the Presbyterian *Scots* proceeded, in all their Actions after their firſt Invaſion in the year 1640, and always interwove ſome Conditions in their Counſels and Tranſactions, which did not only prove, but, in the inſtant, might have been diſcern'd to be, diametrically oppoſite to their publick Intereſt, and to their particular Deſigns. It is very true, that their firſt Invaſion, ſaving their breach of Allegiance, might have ſome excuſe from their Intereſt. They were a poor People, and though many particular Men of that Nation had receiv'd great Bounties, and were exceedingly enriched in the Court of *England* by King *James* and the preſent King, yet thoſe particular Men who had been, and then were in the Court, were, for the moſt part, Perſons of little Intereſt in *Scotland*; nor was that Kingdom at all enriched by the conjunction with this; and they thought themſelves expoſed to ſome late preſſures, which were new to them, and which their Preachers told them "were againſt Conſcience, "and an Invaſion of their Religion; from which they had vindicated themſelves ſo rudely, and unwarrantably, that they might well expect to be called to an account hereafter, if thoſe Perſons whom they had moſt provoked, retain'd their intereſt ſtill with the King, and in his Councils; from whom they were promiſed to be ſecured, and to be well paid for their pains, if they would, by marching into *England* with an Army, give their Friends their countenance to own their own grievances, and ſo to procure Relief and Security for both Kingdoms. In this Enterpriſe, the Succeſs crown'd their work; they were thought a Wiſe, and Reſolute Nation; and after an unbloody War of above a year, they return'd into their Country laden with Spoils and great Riches; and were liberally rewarded, as well for going out, as for coming into *England*. But from their return from this Expedition, their whole true Intereſt conſiſted in, and depended upon, an entire adhering to the King, and vindicating his Honour and Intereſt from all Aſſaults; and their being ſuborn'd afterwards (when the King was in a hopeful way to have reduced his *English* Rebels to their Obedience, by the ſtrength and power of his Armes) to make a ſecond Invaſion of the Kingdom, was a weak and childiſh Engagement, directly oppoſite to their Intereſt, except they had at the ſame time a Reſolution to have changed their own Government, and for ever to have renounced Subjection to Monarchy (which was never in their purpoſe to do) or to withdraw it from the preſent King. Again, when his Majeſty had truſted them ſo far (which they had never reaſon to expect) as to put his Royal Perſon into their hands, and thereby given them an opportunity to redeem themſelves in the Eyes of the World, and to undo ſome part of the miſchief they had done, it was ſurely their Intereſt to have joyn'd cordially with him, and firmly to have united themſelves to his Party in vindication of the Law, and the Government eſtabliſhed; and if they had not had the Courage at that time to have looked the *Engliſh* Army in the face, as apparently they had not, it had been their Intereſt to have retired with the King in the Head of their Army into *Scotland*; and, leaving good Garriſons in *New-Caſtle*, *Berwick*, and *Carliſle*, all which were in their poſſeſſion, to have expected a Revolution in *England* from the Diviſions amongſt themſelves, and from ſome conjunction with a ſtrong Body of the King's *Engliſh* Party, which would quickly have found themſelves together; but the delivery of the King up, beſides the infamy of it, was, in view, deſtructive to all that could be thought their Intereſt.

AFTER all this, when they found themſelves couzen'd and deceiv'd in all the meaſures they had taken, and laughed at and deſpiſed by thoſe who had deceiv'd them, to have a new opportunity to ſerve the King, and then to inſiſt upon ſuch Conditions as muſt make it impoſſible for them to ſerve him effectually, was ſuch a degree of weakneſs, and a deprav'd underſtanding, that they can never be looked upon as Men who knew what their Intereſt was, or what was neceſſary to advance their own deſigns. And yet we ſhall be obliged to obſerve how incorrigibly they adher'd to this obſtinate and froward Method, in all the Tranſactions they afterwards had with the King; all which turn'd, as it could not but do, to their own Ruin, and the Deſtruction of that Idol they Ador'd, and paid their Devotion to. But it is time to return to our diſcourſe, from whence this tedious digreſſion hath miſled us.

The King's condition in the Iſle of Wight at this time.

ALL deſigns and Negotiations, abroad and at home, being in this ſtate and condition, the King remain'd under a ſtrict, and diſconſolate impriſonment, no Man being ſuffer'd to ſpeak with him, and all diligence uſed to intercept all Letters which might paſs to, or from him; yet he found means ſometimes, by the affection and fidelity of ſome Inhabitants of the Iſland, to receive important Advertiſements from his Friends; and to write to and receive Letters from the Queen; and ſo he inform'd her of the *Scotiſh* Tranſaction, and of all the other hopes he had; and ſeem'd to have ſome eaſe; and looked upon it as a good Omen, that in that deſperate lowneſs of his Fortune, and notwithſtanding all the care that was taken that none ſhould be about him but Men of inhuman tempers and natures, void of all reverence towards God and Man, his Majeſty's gracious diſpoſition, and generous affability ſtill wrought upon ſome Soldier, or other Perſon placed about him, to undertake, and perform ſome Offices of truſt, in conveying Papers to and from him. So great a force and influence had Natural duty; or ſome deſperate Men had ſo much craft, and forecaſt, to lay out a little application that might bring advantage to them in ſuch a change as they neither looked for, nor deſired. But many who did undertake to perform thoſe Offices, did not make good what they promiſed; which made it plain, they were permitted to get credit, that they might the more uſefully betray.

The preſent condition of the Parliament.

IN the Parliament, there was no oppoſition or contradiction in any thing relating to the Publick; but in all thoſe Tranſactions which concern'd particular Perſons, with reference to Rewards, Preferments, or matter of profit, Men were conſider'd according to the Party they were of; every day thoſe receiv'd benefit who had appear'd moſt to adhere to the Army; the notorious Presbyterians were removd from places of Profit and Authority; which vexed them; and well prepared and diſpoſed them to be ready for revenge. But the Pulpit-Skirmiſhes were higher than ever; the Presbyterians, in Thoſe fields, loſing nothing of their Courage, having a notorious power in the City, notwithſtanding the emulation of the Independents, who were more Learned and Rational; who, though they had not ſo great Congregations of the Common People, yet infected, and were followed by, the moſt ſubſtantial, and wealthy Citizens; and by others of better condition. To theſe Men *Cromwell*, and moſt of the Officers of the Army adhered, with bitterneſs againſt the other. But the Divinity of the time was not to be judged by the Preaching, and Congregations in Churches, which were now thought not to be the fit and proper places for Devotion and Religious Aſſemblies, where the Biſhops had exerciſed ſuch illimited Tyranny, and which had been polluted by their Original Conſecrations. Liberty of Conſcience was now become the great Charter; and Men who were *inſpired*, Preached and Prayed, when, and where they would. *Cromwell* himſelf was the greateſt Preacher; and moſt of the Officers of the Army, and many Common Soldiers, ſhew'd their *gifts* that way. Anabaptiſts grew very numerous, with whom the Independents concurr'd ſo far as to joyn with them for the utter aboliſhing of Tithes, as of Judaical Inſtitution; which was now the patrimony of the Presbyterians, and therefore proſecuted by one Party, and defended by the other, with equal paſſion, and Animoſity. If any honeſt Man could have been at ſo much eaſe as to have beheld the proſpect with delight, never was ſuch a ſcene of confuſion, as at this time had ſpread it ſelf over the face of the whole Kingdom.

e Prince's dition at ris.

DURING all this time, the Prince remain'd at *Paris* under the Government of his Mother; exerciſed with that ſtrictneſs, that though his Highneſs was above the Age of ſeventeen years, it was not deſired that he ſhould meddle in any buſineſs, or be ſenſible of the unhappy condition the Royal Family was in. The Aſſignation which was made by the Court of *France* for the better ſupport of the Prince, was annexed to the Monthly allowance given to the Queen, and receiv'd by Her, and diſtributed as ſhe thought fit; ſuch Clothes and other neceſſaries provided for his Highneſs as were thought convenient; her Majeſty deſiring to have it thought that the Prince lived entirely upon her, and that it would not conſiſt with the dignity of the Prince of *Wales* to be a Penſioner to the King of *France*. Hereby none of his Highneſs's Servants had any pretence to ask Money, but they were to be contented with what ſhould be allow'd to them; which was diſpenſed with a very ſparing hand; nor was the Prince himſelf ever Maſter of ten Piſtols to diſpoſe as he deſired. The Lord *Jermyn* was the Queen's chief Officer, and govern'd all Her receipts, and he lov'd plenty ſo well, that he would not be without it, whatever others ſuffer'd. All who had any relation to the Prince, were to implore His aid; and the Prince himſelf could obtain nothing but by Him; which made moſt Perſons of Honour of the *Engliſh* Nation who were driven into Baniſhment, as many of the Nobility and chief Gentry of the Kingdom then were, chooſe rather to make their reſidence in any other place, as *Caen*, *Roan*, and the like, than in *Paris*, where the Prince was, and could do ſo little: nor was this Oeconomy well liked even in *France*, nor the Prince himſelf ſo much reſpected as he would have been if he had liv'd more like himſelf, and appear'd more concern'd in his own Buſineſs.

WHEN the Marquis of *Ormond* came thither, he was receiv'd very graciouſly by the Queen, and conſulted with in all things, being the Perſon moſt depended upon to begin to give a turn to their Fortune, recommended to them by the King, and of the moſt univerſal Reputation of any Subject the King had. He preſſed a ſpeedy diſpatch, that he might purſue his deſigns in *Ireland*; where he longed to be, whilſt the Affairs of that Kingdom were no more taken to heart by the Parliament, who had yet ſent no ſupplies thither. He inform'd the Queen, and the Lord *Jermyn*, of the neceſſity of haſtning that work, which they underſtood well enough by the *Iriſh* Commiſſioners; who had been there, and had been ſent back with a million of promiſes, a Coyn that Court always abounded with, and made moſt of its payments in.

WHEN the Queen, who was as zealous for the diſpatch as was poſſible, preſſed the Queen Regent, and the Cardinal, upon it, ſhe receiv'd in words all the ſatisfaction imaginable, and aſſurance that all things ſhould be ſpeedily provided; and when the Marquis ſpoke firſt with the Cardinal upon the ſubject, he found him well diſpoſed; making ſuch ample promiſes for a very good Sum of Money, and ſuch a Proportion of Armes, and Ammunition, as could be wiſhed. So that he thought he had no more to do, but to appoint the place for his Embarkation, that thoſe Proviſions might be ſent thither to meet him; and that he ſhould be ready to Tranſport himſelf within a very ſhort time; of which he gave notice to thoſe who expected him in *Ireland*, and prepared all his own Accommodations accordingly. But he was very much diſappointed in his expectation; the Cardinal was not ſo confident of the recovery of the King's Affairs as to diſoblige the Parliament by contributing towards it: ſo that Affair advanced very ſlowly.

HAVING now, contrary to the order formerly obſerv'd by Me, crowded in all the particular paſſages, and important Tranſactions of two whole years into this Book, that I might not interrupt, or diſcontinue the relation of the myſterious Proceedings of the Army, their great Hypocriſy, and Diſſimulation, practiced towards the King and his Party, and then their pulling off their Mask, and appearing in their natural dreſs of Inhumanity and Savageneſs, with the vile Artifices of the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners to draw the King into their hands, and then their low and baſe complyance, and groſs folly, in delivering him up, and laſtly their abſurd and merchandly Trafficking with him for the price of returning to their Allegiance, when there was no other way of preſerving themſelves, and their Nation from being deſtroyed, the many woeful Tragedies of the next year, which filled the World with amazement and horror, muſt be the ſubject of the diſcourſe of the next Book.

THE END OF THE TENTH BOOK.

THE

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Hiſtory of the Rebellion, &c.

BOOK XI.

Deut. xxix. 24.

Even all Nations ſhall ſay, wherefore hath the Lord done thus unto this Land? what meaneth the heat of this great Anger?

Lam. ii. 7.

The Lord hath caſt off his Altar; he hath abhorred his Sanctuary; he hath given up into the hand of the Enemy the Walls of his Palaces; they have made a noiſe in the Houſe of the Lord as in the day of a ſolemn feaſt.

The Temper of the Nation at this time.

IF a univerſal diſcontent and murmuring of the three Nations, and almoſt as general a deteſtation both of Parliament and Army, and a moſt paſſionate deſire that all their follies and madneſs might be forgotten in reſtoring the King to all they had taken from him, and in ſettling that bleſſed Government they had deprived themſelves of, could have contributed to his Majeſty's recovery, never People were better diſpoſed to erect and repair again the Building they had ſo maliciouſly thrown and pulled down. In *England* there was a general diſcontent amongſt all ſorts of Men; many Officers and Soldiers who had ſerv'd the Parliament from the beginning of the War, and given too great Teſtimonies of their Courage and Fidelity to their Party, and had been disbanded upon the new Model, looked upon the preſent Army with hatred, as thoſe who reaped the Harveſt and Reward of their Labours, and ſpake of them and againſt them in all places accordingly: The Nobility and Gentry who had advanced the Credit and Reputation of the Parliament by concurring with it againſt the King, found themſelves totally neglected, and the moſt inferior People preferr'd to all places of truſt and profit: The Presbyterian Miniſters talked very loud; their Party appear'd to be very numerous, and the expectation of an attempt from *Scotland*, and the importunity and clamour from *Ireland*, for ſupplies of Men and Money againſt the *Iriſh*, who grew powerful, raiſed the Courage of all diſcontented Perſons to meet and confer together, and all to inveigh againſt the Army, and the Officers who corrupted it. The Parliament bore no reproach ſo concernedly, as that of "the want of ſupplies to *Ireland*, and that, having "ſo great an Army without an Enemy, they would not ſpare "any part of it to preſerve that Kingdom. This Argument made a new warmth in the Houſe of Commons, they who had been ſilent, and given over inſiſting upon the inſolence and preſumption of the Army, which had prevailed, and cruſhed them, took now new Spirit, and preſſed the relief of *Ireland* with great earneſtneſs, and in order thereunto made great inquiſition into the Expences of the Money, and how ſuch vaſt Sums receiv'd had been disburſed; which was a large Field, and led them to many Mens doors upon whom they were willing to be revenged.

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THERE was a deſign this way to get the Presbyterians again into power, and that they might get the Command of an Army for the ſubduing the Rebels in *Ireland*. *Cromwell* had, for the quieting the Clamours from thence, got the Lord *Liſle*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, to be ſent under the Title of Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom thither, with a Commiſſion for a limited time. He had Landed in *Munſter*, either out of the Jealouſy they had of the Lord *Inchiquin*, or becauſe the beſt part of their Army of *Engliſh* were under his Command in that Province. But that Expedition gave the *Engliſh* no relief, nor weaken'd the power or ſtrength of the *Iriſh*, but rather increaſed their Reputation by the Faction and bitterneſs that was between the Lieutenant and the Preſident, who writ Letters of complaint one againſt the other to the Parliament, where they had both their Parties which adhered to them. So that, the time of his Commiſſion being expired, and the contrary Party not ſuffering it to be renew'd, the Lord *Liſle* return'd again into *England*, leaving the Lord *Inchiquin*, whom he meant to have deſtroyed, in the entire poſſeſſion of the Command, and in greater Reputation than he was before. And, in truth, he had preſerv'd both with wonderful dexterity, expecting every day the Arrival of the Marquis of *Ormond*, and every day informing the Parliament of the ill Condition he was in, and preſſing for a ſupply of Men and Money, when he knew they would ſend neither.

UPON the return of the Lord *Liſle* the Presbyterians renew'd their deſign, and cauſed Sr *William Waller* to be named for Deputy or Lieutenant of *Ireland*, the rather (over and above his merit, and the experience they had had of his Service) becauſe he could quickly draw together thoſe Officers and Soldiers which had ſerv'd under him, and were now diſbanded, and would willingly again engage under their old General. At the firſt, *Cromwell* did not oppoſe this motion, but conſented to it, being very willing to be rid both of *Waller*, and all the Officers who were willing to go with him, who he knew were not his Friends, and watched an opportunity to be even with him. But when he ſaw *Waller* inſiſt upon great Supplies to carry with him, as he had reaſon to do, and when he conſider'd of what conſequence it might be to him and all his deſigns, if a well form'd and diſciplined Army ſhould be under the power of *Waller*, and ſuch Officers, he changed his mind; and firſt ſet his Inſtruments to croſs ſuch a ſupply of Men and Money, as he had propoſed; "the one, "as more than neceſſary for the Service, and the other as more "than they could ſpare from their other occaſions: And when this check was put to *Waller*'s Engagement, he cauſed **Lambert** to be propoſed for that Expedition, a Man who was then faſt to the ſame Intereſt He embraced, and who had gotten a great Name in the Army. He formalized ſo long upon this, that *Ireland* remained ſtill unſupplied, and their Affairs there ſeem'd to be in a very ill Condition.

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by Crom-
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propoſed
Lambert.

THE *Scots* made ſo much noiſe of their purpoſes, even before their Commiſſioners left *London*, and gave ſuch conſtant Advertiſements of the impatience of their Country-men to be in Armes for the King, though they made no haſt in providing for ſuch an Expedition, that both the Presbyterians, who were their chief Correſpondents, and the Royal Party, bethought themſelves how they might be ready; the one, that they might redeem themſelves from their former Guilt, and the other, that they might not only have a good part in freeing the King from his Impriſonment, but be able to preſerve him in Liberty from any Presbyterian Impoſitions, which they ſtill apprehended the *Scots* might endeavour to oppoſe, though they had no ſuſpicion of the Engagement lately mention'd at the Iſle of *Wight*.

THE Earl of *Holland*, who had done twice very notoriouſly amiſs, and had been, ſince his return from *Oxford*, notably deſpiſed by all Perſons of Credit in the Parliament and the Army, had a mind to redeem his former faults by a new and thorough Engagement. He had much Credit by

The Earl of
Holland
prepares to
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Duke of
Bucks *and*
others.

deſcent and by alliance with the Presbyterian Party, and was privy to the undertakings of *Scotland*, and had conſtant Intelligence of the advance that was made there. His Brother, the Earl of *Warwick*, had undergone ſome mortification with the reſt, and had not that Authority in the Naval Affairs as he had uſed to have, though he was the High Admiral of *England* by Ordinance of Parliament, and had done them extraordinary Services. He did not reſtrain, or endeavour to ſuppreſs the Earl of *Holland*'s diſcontents, but inflamed them, and promiſed to joyn with him, as many others of that Gang of Men did; reſolving that the *Scots* ſhould not do all that work, but that they would have a ſhare in the merit. The Duke of *Buckingham*, and his Brother, the Lord *Francis Villiers*, were newly return'd from Travel, and though both very young, were ſtrong and active Men, and being, in reſpect of their Infancy, uningaged in the late War, and ſo unhurt by it, and coming now to the poſſeſſion of large Eſtates, which they thought they were obliged to venture for the Crown upon the firſt opportunity, they fell eaſily into the Friendſhip of the Earl of *Holland*, and were ready to Embark themſelves in his Adventure. The Earl had made tender of his Reſolutions to his old Miſtreſs the Queen at *Paris*, who was always diſpoſed to truſt him, and the Lord *Jermyn* and He renewed their former Friendſhip, the warmth whereof had never been extinguiſhed.

So a Commiſſion was ſent from the Prince to the Earl to be General of an Army, that was to be raiſed for the redemption of the King from Priſon, and to reſtore the Parliament to its freedom. The Earl of *Peterborough*, and *John Mordaunt* his Brother, the Family of the Earl of *Northampton*, and all the Officers who had ſerv'd the King in the War, with which the City of *London*, and all Parts of the Kingdom abounded, applied themſelves to the Earl of *Holland*, and receiv'd Commiſſions from him for ſeveral Commands.

This Engagement was ſo well known, and ſo generally ſpoken of, that they concluded that the Parliament durſt not take notice of it, or wiſhed well to it. And there is no queſtion, never undertaking of that Nature was carried on with ſo little reſervation; there was ſcarce a County in *England*, in which there was not ſome Aſſociation enter'd into to appear in Armes for the King. They who had the principal Command in *Wales* under the Parliament, ſent to *Paris* to declare, “that, if they might have ſupply of Armes and Ammunition, “and a reaſonable Sum for the payment of their Garriſons, “they would declare for the King, having the chief places “of thoſe Parts in their Cuſtody. The Lord *Jermyn* encouraged all thoſe Overtures with moſt poſitive Undertaking, that they ſhould be ſupplied with all they expected, within ſo many days after they ſhould declare; which they depended upon, and he, according to his cuſtom, never thought of after; by which the Service miſcarried, and many Gallant Men were loſt.

CROMWELL, to whom all theſe Machinations were known, choſe rather to run the hazard of all that ſuch a looſe Combination could produce, than, by ſeiſing upon Perſons, to engage the Parliament in Examinations, and in Parties; the inconvenience whereof he apprehended more; finding already that the Presbyterian Party had ſo great an influence upon the General, that he declared to him, "He would not "march againſt the *Scots*, whom he had a good mind to have viſited before their Counſels and Reſolutions were form'd; and *Cromwell* had reaſon to believe, that *Fairfax* would be firm to the ſame mind, even after they ſhould have Invaded the Kingdom.

The Scots *preparatio for an Expedition in* England.

ALL things being in this forwardneſs in *England*, it is fit to enquire how the *Scots* complied with their obligations, and what Expedition they uſed in raiſing their Army. After the Commiſſioners return from *London*, upon the King's being made Priſoner in the Iſle of *Wight*, it was long before the Marquis of *Argyle* could be prevailed with to conſent that a Parliament ſhould be called. He had made a faſt Friendſhip with *Cromwell*, and *Vane*; and knew that in this new ſtipulation with the King, the *Hamiltonian* Faction was the great Undertaker, and meant to have all the Honour of whatſoever ſhould follow. And yet the Duke upon his return to *Scotland* liv'd at firſt very privately at his own Houſe; ſeldom went abroad to any Meeting; and to thoſe who came to him, and to whom that Reſolution would be grateful, he uſed to ſpeak darkly, and as a Man that thought more of revenge upon thoſe who had Impriſon'd him, than of aſſiſting the Crown to recover the Authority it had loſt. *Argyle*, whoſe power was over that violent Party of the Clergy which would not depart from the moſt rigid clauſe in the Covenant, and were without any reverence for the King or his Government, diſcern'd that he ſhould never be able to hinder the calling of a Parliament, which the People generally called for, and that he ſhould ſooner obtain his end by puzling their proceedngs, and obſtructing their determinations, after they ſhould be aſſembled, than by obſtinately oppoſing their coming together. So Summons were iſſued for the Convention of a Parliament; and they who appear'd moſt concern'd for the King, and to ſet him at Liberty from his Impriſonment (which was all they pretended) were the Earl of *Lanrick*, Brother to Duke *Hamilton*, and then reſtored to his Office of Secretary of *Scotland*, who had been Impriſon'd at *Oxford*, and made his eſcape from thence; and the Earl of *Lautherdale*, who had been with the forwardeſt from the beginning of the Rebellion, when he was ſcarce of Age, and proſecuted it to the end with moſt eminent Fierceneſs and Animoſity.

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THEY were both Men of great Parts and Induſtry, though they lov'd Pleaſures too; both Proud and Ambitious; the former, much the civiler and better bred, of the better Nature, and better Judgement, and an openneſs and clearneſs more to be truſted and relied upon than moſt Men of that Party: the latter, Inſolent, Imperious, Flattering, and Diſſembling, fitter for Intrigues and Contrivances by the want of the Ingenuity which the other had, and by the Experience and Practice he had in the Committee of both Kingdoms in their darkeſt deſigns. The former, was a Man of Honour and Courage; the latter, had Courage enough not to fail where it was abſolutely neceſſary, and no impediment of Honour to reſtrain him from doing any thing that might gratify any of his paſſions.

THESE two were the chief Managers and Contrivers to carry on this Affair; for though the Chancellor, the Earl of *Lowden*, had been a Commiſſioner in *England*, and as privy to the Treaty with the King, and had made as many profeſſions and proteſtations of duty to him as they, and indeed was willing to perform them, yet he was ſo obnoxious for his looſe and vitious Life, which was notorious, that he durſt not provoke *Argyle* or the Clergy by diſſenting from them. They uſed all the Intereſt and Skill they had, to get ſuch Elections in the Boroughs of Members for the Parliament as might comply with them; and the People generally were exceedingly offended, and aſhamed of the infamous delivery up of the King to the *Engliſh*, to which they imputed all the danger that threaten'd them, and the reproach and infamy that lay upon their Country; and ſo had great prejudice to all Men who were thought to be the cauſe of it.

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Scotland; *nd their de-*
iberations.

AT the opening of the Parliament, they did all they could to inflame the People againſt the Army in *England*; which, they ſaid, "had forced the Parliament there to break the "Treaty between the two Kingdoms in their ill uſage of the "King, who was Impriſon'd by the Army, nor was it in the "power of the Parliament to ſet him at Liberty: That they "had now, upon the matter, abſolutely depoſed him, by not "ſuffering him to perform the Office of a King, nor permitting any of his Subjects to repair to him; in which the "Kingdom of *Scotland* was concern'd, in that being independent upon *England*, and the Parliament of *England*, they "were by them depriv'd of their King, and could not be admitted to ſpeak with him, nor his Majeſty to ſend to them; which was ſuch a preſumption, and violation of the Law of Nations, and ſuch a perfidious breach and contempt of the ſolemn League and Covenant, and of the Treaty between the two Kingdoms, that they were bound by all the obligations Humane and Divine to be ſenſible of it, and to redeem their King's Liberty, and their own Honour, with the hazard of their Lives and Fortunes and all that was dear to them: and therefore they deſired that they might enter upon thoſe Counſels, which might ſooneſt get an Army together, which ſhould no ſooner enter *England*, but it would find a conjunction from that whole Kingdom, except only the Army; and that it would then quickly appear that the Parliaments of both Kingdoms deſired the ſame thing, and to live happily under the Government of the ſame King.

THIS diſcourſe, urged and ſeconded by many of the principal Men, was entertain'd by the reſt with ſo general a reception, that *Argyle* found it would be to no purpoſe directly to contradict or oppoſe it. He ſaw the Election of the Knights and Burgeſſes had ſucceeded according to the wiſhes of the other Lords, and that they would concur with whatſoever was propoſed; and he found likewiſe that they had wrought upon the greateſt part of their Clergy; who believ'd all they ſaid to them. He did not therefore oppoſe any thing propoſed by them, but only deſired, "that they would very well weigh the manner of their proceeding in an affair of ſo great concernment, which was like to terminate in a bloody War between the two Kingdoms; which had hitherto proceeded as Brethren, and had both reaped great benefit and advantage from the conjunction: and he hoped there was no purpoſe to ſhake any of thoſe foundations which had been laid in the years by-gone, which ſupported that Government, and made that Kingdom happy; which if diſſolv'd, all the miſchief and tyranny they had formerly felt and undergone, would break in upon them with a torrent that ſhould deſtroy them. Every Body declared, "that there was no purpoſe to ſwerve, in the leaſt degree, from what was eſtabliſh'd for the Government in either Kingdom, by their ſolemn League and Covenant, which they had in perfect veneration, and look'd upon it as an obligation upon them to do all that had been propoſed; upon which *Argyle* acquieſced as ſatisfied, not doubting but that, in the proſecution of their Counſels, he ſhould find opportunity enough to obſtruct the quick progreſs, and to interrupt the concluſion, and execution.

Sr M Langdale *and* Sr P. Muſgrave *and others, treated with by the* Scots, *and invited into* Scotland; *whither they went.*

THE Lords who had been in *England*, and frequented *Hampton* Court, whilſt the King was there, to make themſelves the more gracious, had treated all the King's Party with all manner of careſſes, and more particularly had much applied themſelves to thoſe Gentlemen of the North who had moſt eminently ſerv'd the King, and who had good Fortunes there to ſupport their Intereſt. Of this kind there were two very notable Men, Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*, and Sr *Philip Muſgrave*; both Men of large and plentiful Eſtates, the one in *York-ſhire*, the other in *Cumberland* and *Weſtmoreland*; who having been in the time of Peace eminent in their Country in the Offices of Juſtices of Peace, and Deputy Lieutenants, had, in the beginning of the War, engaged themſelves in Commands in the King's Army with great reputation of ſtout, diligent, and active Officers; and continued to the end, and had not after applied themſelves to make any compoſition, but expected a new opportunity to appear with their Swords in their hands. They were both look'd upon by the Parliament, and the chief Officers of the Army, with great jealouſy, as Men worthy to be fear'd, and who could never be induced to comply with them. The *Scotiſh* Lords had not been ſcrupulous to let theſe two Gentlemen know what they intended, and "that they made no queſtion but they ſhould engage "their whole Kingdom and Nation to enter into a preſent "War with *England* on the King's behalf; and therefore de"ſired them, by the Intereſt, and Influence they had upon "the Northern Counties, to diſpoſe them to a conjunction "with them. And becauſe they knew that they two were too notorious to ſtay with any Security about *London*, much leſs in their own Country, they invited them into *Scotland*, where they aſſured them, "they ſhould not only be ſafe, but "very welcome; and ſhould be Witneſſes of their proceed"ings, and have parts of their own to act in, aſſoon as the "Seaſon ſhould be ripe.

THESE Gentlemen, though they had been hitherto unhurt, and whilſt the Army made thoſe profeſſions towards the King, had been much courted by the chief Officers thereof, and had been Quarter'd with them as Friends, knew well, now the Mask was off, that if they did not immediately apply themſelves to make their compoſitions, they ſhould be apprehended, and impriſoned. And therefore, being perſwaded that the *Scots* would engage for the King, they accepted their Invitation, and told them, "they ſhould quickly "find them in *Scotland* after their own return. Accordingly, after having ſecretly ſpent ſome time in their own Countries, and directed their Friends to be in a readineſs when they ſhould be called upon, and in the mean time ſettled a way how to correſpond together, they went into *Scotland* to thoſe who had invited them, and were receiv'd by them with civility enough. They own'd ſuch a warineſs, in reſpect of the jealouſies amongſt themſelves, and the ill Arts of *Argyle*, that they deſired them "for ſome time to withdraw to ſome place (which they recommended to them) "and there to remain in "ſecret, and under feigned Names, until the calling of the "Parliament; at which time they might come to *Edenborough*, "and appear in their own likeneſs with all freedom. So after having remain'd in that private manner, where they were well treated for ſome Months, when the Parliament was aſſembled at *Edenborough*, they return'd thither; and were very well look'd upon by all that knew them; which made them behave themſelves with the more freedom and confidence in their converſation, the forementioned Lords telling them all they meant to do, and what Arts they were to uſe till they could get their Army up, towards which they believ'd they had maſter'd the greateſt difficulties.

THOUGH the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners had withdrawn from *London*, ſhortly after they had proteſted loudly againſt the proceedings of the Parliament, both in impriſoning the King, and in refuſing to give them leave to repair to him, or to receive from him any directions or orders concerning the Government of that Kingdom, and thought it high time to provide for their own Security by quitting their Station at *London*, where they receiv'd every day Affronts, and their Perſons were expoſed to contempt; yet there were no ſooner Preparations towards a Parliament in *Scotland*, than Commiſſioners were ſent from the Lords and Commons at *Weſtminſter* to reſide at *Edenborough*, as if they hoped to over-vote them there too; and it was evident quickly that they were not without a ſtrong or at leaſt an active Party there. They were receiv'd with the ſame ſhew of reſpect, and the ſame care was taken for their Accommodation, as had been when they firſt came for contriving of the Covenant; not only the Marquis of *Argyle*, and his Party, very diligently viſited them, and perform'd all offices of reſpect towards them, but even the *Hamiltonian* Faction, and they who were moſt ſollicitous to raiſe the War, attended them as officiouſly as others, and made the ſame profeſſions to preſerve the Peace and Amity between the two Nations.

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Scotland.

THAT rigid Party of the Clergy which ſo adored the Covenant in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the Letter, that they did not deſire to have any more dependence upon the King, but in effect to lay him aſide, and to ſettle the Government without him, as their Brethren in *England* had reſolv'd to do, were never from them, and willingly receiv'd ſuch Preſents and

Penſions from the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners, as they were prepared and provided to offer to them; and much Money was given to make them faſt Friends. By this means nothing was reſolv'd, or propoſed in the moſt ſecret Councils, that was not forthwith imparted, and made known to them; and they behaved themſelves as haughtily and imperiouſly, as if they had their Army at hand to ſecond them. They took notice of the reſort of ſo many *Engliſh* to *Edenborough*, and that there were many amongſt them who had been in Armes againſt the Parliament, and demanded "that they might either be baniſhed that Kingdom, or deliver'd to them to be ſent to the "Parliament.

THEY were ſo clamorous in this Argument, and found ſo much countenance to their clamour, that they who had invited the *Engliſh* thither, had not the Courage to own them; but adviſed them under-hand, "to abſent themſelves from the "Town, till that ſtorm ſhould be over. And even Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*, and Sr *Philip Muſgrave*, whom, over and above all the diſcourſes held with them at *London*, the *Scotiſh* Lords had ſent to confer with as they paſſed through the Northern parts Homewards, and had then conferred with them, and deſired them "to prepare all things with their "Friends for the ſurpriſal of *Berwick* and *Carliſle*, when the "Seaſon ſhould be Ripe, and that they would haſten their "Journey into *Scotland*, that they might be out of danger of "impriſonment; even theſe Men were deſired, "either to "withdraw again from *Edenborough*, or to keep their Chambers there, and not to be ſeen abroad, untill their Army "ſhould be raiſed, and ſuch a General made choice of as would "take care of their Protection. And they did not conceal from them, that they made no doubt but that Duke *Hamilton* ſhould be that General; who often conferr'd with them in private, and always aſſured them, "that whatever was, in "that place and ſeaſon, diſcourſed of the Covenant, which "was very neceſſary to bring their deſigns to paſs, he ſhould "be no ſooner inveſted in the Command his Friends deſign'd "for him, than he would manifeſt his reſolution to joyn with "the King's Party, upon the true Intereſt of the Crown, "without which he would hope for little ſucceſs in *England*: and he deſired them, "though they ſaw little appearance yet "of raiſing an Army, which would be aſſoon finiſhed as begun, by the method they were accuſtom'd to uſe, that they "would write very earneſtly to their Friends in *England* to "begin, aſſoon as might be, to execute the deſigns they had "laid, in as many parts of the Kingdom as they could upon "confidence that they ſhould receive relief before they could "be oppreſſed. To the ſame purpoſe they writ to the Queen, "and deſired that the Prince might be in a readineſs to be "with them againſt the time their Army ſhould be ready to "march; which, they aſſured Her, ſhould be by the beginning of *May*. All which ſeveral Advertiſements, being communicated in ***England***, found a People too ready to give Credit to what was promiſed, and to begin the work ſooner than they ought to have done; and yet they were haſten'd by ſuch accidents, as, in truth, made their appearance even neceſſary.

THE King, whilſt he was at ***Hampton*** Court, when he foreſaw that the Army would not comply with him, as he once believ'd, and reſolv'd to get themſelves out of their hands, had, as is mention'd before, directed the Duke of *York*, who was of years to be truſted with the ſecret, "that, when "a fit opportunity ſhould be offer'd, he ſhould make his eſcape "into the parts beyond the Seas, and follow the directions "of his Mother: and about this time, when ſo much Action was expected, which probably might produce many alterations, his Majeſty in all places, found ſome way to advertiſe the Duke, "that it would be a very proper Seaſon for him to "make his eſcape. The Perſon who was entruſted to contrive it was Colonel ***Bamfield***, a Man of an active and inſinuating Nature, and dextrous enough in bringing any thing to paſs that he had the managing of himſelf. He had now no relation to the King's Service; he had ſerv'd the King in the late War as a Colonel of Foot, and had not behaved himſelf ſo well in it, as to draw any ſuſpicion upon himſelf from the other Party, and was in truth much more converſant with the Presbyterian Party than with the King's. So that his repair often to the place where the Duke of *York* and the other Children were, drew nothing of ſuſpicion upon him.

The eſca of the Du of York yond Sea from St. James's

THE Duke and his Brother and Siſter were then kept at St *James's*, where they had the liberty of the Garden and Park to walk and exerciſe themſelves in, and Lords, and Ladies, and other Perſons of Condition, were not reſtrain'd from reſorting thither to viſit them. In this manner ***Bamfield*** had been ſometimes there; and after he had inform'd the Duke what he was to do, and found one or two more to be truſted between them, that he might not become ſuſpected by being obſerv'd to ſpeak too often with him, he provided a ſmall Veſſel to be ready about the Cuſtom Houſe, and to have its Paſs for ***Holland***, and then advertiſed the Duke to be ready in the cloſe of an Evening, when playing, as he uſed to do, with the other Children, in a Room from whence there was a pair of Stairs to the Garden, he might, untaken notice of, get thither, from whence there was a door into the Park; where ***Bamfield*** would meet him. And this was ſo well adjuſted, that the Duke came at the hour to the place; where the other met him, and led him preſently where a Coach was ready, and ſo carried him into a private Houſe; where he only ſtayed whilſt he put on Women's Apparel, that was provided for him; and preſently, with Colonel *Bamfield* only, went into a pair of Oares that was ready; ſo he paſſed the Bridge, and went on Board the Veſſel that was ready to receive him; which immediately hoiſted Sail, and arriv'd ſafe in *Holland*, without any Man of the Ship having the leaſt imagination what Freight they carried.

THE Duke, aſſoon as he was on Shore, and in a Lodging, reſolving no longer to uſe his Womans habit, ſtayed there till he advertiſed his Siſter, the Princeſs Royal of *Orange*, of his Arrival; who quickly took care to provide all ſuch things as were neceſſary for his remove to the *Hague*; from whence the Queen was inform'd, and ſo knew aſſoon almoſt where he was, as ſhe did of his eſcape from *London*. The Prince was not yet ready for his remove, nor was it reſolv'd which way he ſhould go; ſo that it was thought beſt that the Duke ſhould, for the preſent, ſtay at the *Hague* with his Siſter, till farther reſolutions might be taken; and though the Service which *Bamfield* had perform'd, was very well eſteem'd, yet they thought the making him a Groom of his Bed-Chamber, would be an ample recompence, and that it was neceſſary to put a Perſon of a better Quality about his Highneſs, who might have a ſuperior Command over the other Servants; and becauſe the Lord *Byron*, who had been made Governour of the Duke of *York* by the King, was then in *England*, ſecretly attending the conjuncture to appear in Armes in a quarter aſſign'd to him, Sr *John Berkley* was ſent by the Queen to wait upon the Duke, as Governour in the abſence of the Lord *Byron*, which *Bamfield* looked upon as a degradation, and bringing the Man he hated of all Men living, to have the command over him.

r John erkley *ade his ighneſs's overnour n the abence of the* ord Byon.

THE Lord *Capel*, who was in the moſt ſecret part of all theſe Intrigues in *England*, being entirely truſted by thoſe who would not truſt any of the Presbyterians nor communicate their purpoſes to them, had written to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who remain'd ſtill in *Jerſey*, the hopes he had of a good conjuncture, and his own reſolution to Embark himſelf in that attempt, aſſoon as it ſhould be ripe; and had ſignified the King's Command to him, "that aſſoon as the Chancellor "ſhould be required to wait upon the Prince, he ſhould with-"out delay obey the Summons: and the King had likewiſe writ to the Queen very poſitively, "that when it ſhould be "neceſſary for the Prince to remove out of *France*, the Chan-"cellor ſhould have notice of it, and be required to give his

“ attendance upon the Perſon of his Royal Highneſs, in the “ condition he had formerly done. About the beginning of *May*, in the year 1648, the Lord *Capel*, who had always correſponded with the Chancellor, and inform'd him of the State of Affairs, and all that concern'd himſelf, writ to him, “ that all things were now ſo ripe, that he believ'd the Prince “ would not find it fit to remain longer in *France*; and there-“ upon conjured him that he would be ready, if he ſhould be “ ſent for, as he was confident he would be, to attend upon “ his Highneſs; which, he ſaid, all the King's Friends expected he ſhould do; and which he was reſolv'd to do aſſoon as the Prince ſhould be out of *France*, though he ſhould receive no order or invitation ſo to do.

The Chan
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ABOUT the middle of *May*, the Queen, according to his Majeſty's Command, ſent to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to *Jerſey*, commanding, “ that he would wait upon the “ Prince in the *Louvre* at *Paris*, upon a day that was paſt before the Letter came to his hands. But he no ſooner receiv'd the Summons, than he betook himſelf to the Journey, and to tranſport himſelf into *Normandy*; where, after he was landed, he made what haſt he could to *Caen*, ſuppoſing he ſhould there find Secretary *Nicholas*, who had given him notice, “ that he had receiv'd the ſame Command. When he came to *Caen*, he found the Secretary's Lady there, but himſelf was gone to *Roan*, to the Lord *Cottington*, and intended to ſtay there till the other ſhould arrive, and to conſult together there upon their farther Journey. The old Earl of *Briſtol*, who had liv'd likewiſe at *Caen*, was gone with the Secretary to *Roan*, having likewiſe receiv'd the Same Summons with the others to attend the Prince at the *Louvre*. The Chancellor haſten'd to *Roan*, where he found the Lord *Cottington*, who had ſtill the Title and Precedency of Lord High Treaſurer of *England*, the Earl of *Briſtol*, and Secretary *Nicholas*, who were all his very good Friends, and very glad of his Arrival. They had receiv'd Advertiſement, the day before, “ that the Prince, with all his ſmall Train, was paſſed “ by towards *Calais*; and direction was ſent “ that the Chan-“ cellor, whom they ſuppoſed to be on the way, and the reſt, “ ſhould ſtay at *Roan*, till they ſhould receive new Orders “ from *Calais*, where his Royal Highneſs would take new “ meaſures what he was to do. So they ſtayed together at *Roan*, where there were at the ſame time very many *Engliſh* of Quality in their own condition, who were driven out of *England*, as well as they, for their fidelity to the King, and had brought ſomewhat with them for their ſupport abroad, till they might upon ſome good change return to their own Country. In the mean time they liv'd very decently together in that City; where they were well eſteem'd. The way between *Roan* and *Calais* was ſo dangerous without a very ſtrong Convoy, that no day paſſed without Robberies and Murthers, ſo that they were glad of their Order not to ſtir from thence, till they ſhould receive a very particular direction from the Prince; and within few days they receiv'd advice, “that the “Prince had, aſſoon as he came to *Calais*, put himſelf on “board a Ship that he found there bound for *Holland*, whence “they were to hear from him, how they ſhould diſpoſe of “themſelves. Whereupon they all reſolv'd to remove from *Roan* to *Diep*, from whence they might Embark themſelves for *Holland* if they ſaw cauſe; the ways by Land, in regard that both the *French* and the *Spaniſh* Armies were in the Field, being very dangerous.

The Prince vent into Holland *rom* Calais.

The Revolt f part of he Fleet to he King rom Rainſ-borough.

THE Prince's remove from *Paris* on ſuch a ſuddain, proceeded from an Accident in *England* that was very extraordinary, and looked like a call from Heaven. The Parliament about this time had prepared, according to cuſtom, a good Fleet of ten or a dozen Ships for the Summer Guard, and appointed *Rainsborough* to be Admiral thereof; who had been bred at Sea, and was the Son of an eminent Commander at Sea lately dead; but he himſelf, from the time of the new Model, had been an Officer of Foot in the Army, and was a Colonel of ſpecial Note and Account, and of *Cromwell*'s chief Confidents. This offended the Earl of *Warwick* much, and diſpoſed him to that inclination to concur with his Brother lately mention'd. Captain *Batten* likewiſe was as much unſatisfied, who had acted a great part in the firſt alienating the Fleet, and the Affections of the Sea-men from the King, and had ever been their Vice-Admiral afterwards, and one of the Perſons upon whom they principally rely'd at Sea. *Rainsborough*, as long as he remain'd in the Navy, had been under his Command, and both the Earl and *Batten* well knew that this Man was now made Admiral of this Fleet, becauſe they, being Presbyterians, ſhould have no credit or influence upon it; which made them ſollicitous enough that the Sea-men ſhould not be well pleaſed with the Alteration; and They looked upon *Rainsborough* as a Man that had forſaken them, and preferr'd the Land before the Sea Service. The Sea-men are in a manner a Nation by themſelves, a humourous, brave, and ſturdy People; fierce, and reſolute in whatſoever they are inclined to, ſomewhat unſteady and inconſtant in purſuing it, and jealous of thoſe to morrow by whom they are govern'd to day. Theſe Men, obſerving the general diſcontent of the People, and that, however the Parliament was obeyed by the power of the Army, both Army and Parliament were grown very odious to the Nation, and hearing ſo much diſcourſe of an Army from *Scotland* ready to enter into the Kingdom, concluded that the King would be Reſtored; and then remembring that the revolt of the Fleet was the preamble to the loſs of his Majeſty's Authority every where elſe, and a great cauſe of all his Misfortunes, thought it would be a glorious thing to them, if they could lead the way to his Majeſty's Reſtoration by their declaring for him. This was an Agitation among the Common Sea-men, without communicating it to any Officer of the Quality of Maſter of a Ship. This inclination was much improv'd in them by a general diſpoſition in *Kent* to an Inſurrection for the King, and by ſome Gentlemen's coming on board the Ships, according to the cuſtom of that Country; who fomented the good diſpoſition in the Sea-men by all the ways they could.

Commoti
in Kent
the King

AT this very time there appear'd generally throughout *Kent* the ſame indigeſted Affection to the King, and inclination to ſerve him, as was among the Sea-men, and was Conducted with much leſs order and caution, neither the one nor the other having been deſign'd by thoſe who took care of the King's Affairs, and who deſign'd thoſe Inſurrections which happen'd in other parts of the Kingdom. They knew nothing, that is, contributed nothing to this good diſpoſition in the Sea-men, though they were not without ſome hope that, upon all other Revolutions, ſomewhat might likewiſe fall out at Sea to the advantage of the King's Affairs. They had ſome expectation indeed from *Kent*, where they knew the People were generally well Affected, and depended upon two or three Gentlemen of that Country, who had been Officers in the King's Army, and reſolv'd to bring in ſome Troops of Horſe, when occaſion ſhould be ripe; but it was reſolv'd and intended that the *Scotiſh* Army ſhould be enter'd the Kingdom, by which the Parliament Army would be upon their march towards them, before they would have any appearance of force in the parts near *London*; and then they believ'd that both Country and City would riſe together. And ſo thoſe Gentlemen of *Kent*, who were privy to any deſign, lay privately in *London* to avoid all Cabals in their Country; ſo that what now fell out there, was by meer chance and accident, that could never be foreſeen, or prevented.

THERE happen'd to be at ſome Jovial meeting in *Kent* about that time, one Mr *L'Eſtrange* a younger Brother of a good Family in *Norfolk*, who had been always of the King's Party, and for attempting ſomewhat in his own Country for his Majeſty's Service, had been taken Priſoner by the Parliament, and by a Court of War condemn'd to dye, but being kept in Priſon till the end of the War, was then ſet at Liberty,

berty, as one in whom there was no more danger. But he retain'd his old Affections, and more remember'd the cruel uſage he had receiv'd, than that they had not proceeded as cruelly with him as they might have done. He had a great Friendſhip with a young Gentleman, Mr *Hales*, who liv'd in *Kent*, and was Married to a Lady of a Noble Birth and Fortune, he being Heir to one of the greateſt Fortunes of that Country, but was to expect the Inheritance from the favour of an Old Severe Grand-father, who for the preſent kept the young Couple from running into any Exceſs; the Mother of the Lady being of as ſour and ſtrict a Nature as the Grand-father, and both of them ſo much of the Parliament Party, that they were not willing any part of their Eſtates ſhould be hazarded for the King. At the Houſe of this Mr *Hales*, Mr *L'Eſtrange* was, when by the Communication which that part of *Kent* always hath with the Ships which lye in the *Downs*, the report firſt did ariſe that the Fleet would preſently declare for the King, and thoſe Sea-men who came on Shore talked as if the City of *London* would joyn with them. This drew many Gentlemen of the Country who wiſhed well, to viſit the Ships, and they return'd more confirm'd of the truth of what they had heard. Good-fellowſhip was a Vice ſpread every where, and this young great Heir, who had been always bred among his Neighbours, affected that which they were beſt pleaſed with, and ſo his Houſe was a Rendezvous for thoſe who delighted in that Exerciſe, and who every day brought him the news of the good inclinations in the Fleet for the King; and all Men's Mouths were full of the general hatred the whole Kingdom had againſt the Parliament as well as the Army. Mr *L'Eſtrange* was a Man of a good Wit, and a Fancy very luxuriant, and of an enterpriſing Nature. He obſerv'd, by the good Company that came to the Houſe, that the Affections of all that Large and Populous Country were for the King. He begun to tell Mr *Hales*, "that though his "Grand-father did in his heart wiſh the King well, yet his "carriage had been ſuch in his conjunction with the Parlia-"ment, that he had more need of the King's favour than of "his Grand-father's to be Heir to that great Eſtate; and that "certainly nothing could be more acceptable to his Grand-"father, or more glorious to Him, than to be the Inſtru-"ment of both; and therefore adviſed him "to put himſelf "into the Head of his own Country, which would be willing "to be led by him; that when the *Scots* were enter'd in-"to the Northern Parts, and all the Kingdom ſhould be in "Armes, he might, with the Body of his Country-men, "march towards *London*; which would induce both the "City and the Parliament to joyn with him, whereby he “ſhould have great ſhare in the Honour of Reſtoring the “King.

THE Company that frequented the Houſe thought the diſcourſe very reaſonable, and ſaw that the iſſue muſt be very Honourable: The young Lady of the Houſe was full of Zeal for the King, and was willing her Husband ſhould be the Inſtrument of his delivery: The young Gentleman himſelf had not been enough converſant in the Affairs of the World to apprehend the danger, or hazard of the Attempt, and ſo referr'd himſelf and the whole Buſineſs to be govern'd, and conducted by Mr *L'Eſtrange*, whom they all believ'd by his diſcourſe to be an able Soldier. He writ ſome Letters to particular Gentlemen, who he was inform'd would receive them willingly, and ſign'd Warrants to the Conſtables of Hundreds with his own Name, which had been never heard of in the Country, requiring, “in his Majeſty's Name, all “Perſons to appear, at a time and place appointed, to adviſe “together, and to lay hold on ſuch opportunities, as ſhould “be offer'd for relieving the King and delivering him out of “Priſon. There was an incredible appearance of the Country at the place appointed, where Mr *L'Eſtrange* appear'd with Mr *Hales*, and thoſe Perſons which had been uſed to their Company. Mr *L'Eſtrange* ſpoke to them in a ſtyle very much his own; and being not very clear to be underſtood, the more prevailed over them. He ſpake like a Man in Authority, inveighed againſt “the Tyranny of the Army, which “had ſubdued the Parliament, againſt their barbarous Impri“ſonment of the King, and againſt a Conſpiracy they had to “Murther him. He added “that the Affections of that No“ble Country were well known to his Majeſty, and that he “had therefore appointed the Fleet that was in the **Downs** to “joyn with them; and that he doubted not but they would “together be too ſtrong for his Enemies, who were like to “have enough to do to defend themſelves in many other “places; and that his Majeſty was willing they ſhould have “a Gentleman of their own Country, well known to them, “to be their General; and named Mr *Hales*; who was preſent. There was not one Man who ſo much as asked for any Letter or Commiſſion, or other Authority from the King; but all of them, very frankly and unanimouſly, declared “they “would be ready to joyn, and march as their General *Hales* “ſhould direct; and ſo another day and place was appointed for another appearance, and Liſting and Forming their Regiments; and in the mean time Mr *L'Eſtrange* ſet out ſuch Declarations, and Engagements, as he thought moſt like to prevail with the People, and required “that they ſhould be read “in all Churches; which was done accordingly. The next appearance was greater than the former; and with the ſame forwardneſs, many coming Armed both Horſe and Foot, and ſhewing a marvellous alacrity to the Engagement. Their General then gave out his Commiſſions for ſeveral Regiments, and a new day was appointed for their Rendezvous, when all ſhould come Arm'd, and keep together in a Body, until it ſhould be fit to march to ***London***.

IT was known that the Fleet was gone out of the ***Downs***, but it was as well known that it had abſolutely renounced the Service of the Parliament, and rejected all their Officers. It was eaſy to perſwade the People, that they were gone upon ſome important Enterpriſe, and would ſpeedily return; and it was inſinuated, "that it was gone to the Iſle of *Wight* to "releaſe the King, who would return with it into *Kent*; which made them haſten their preparations.

AT the time when the King made the Earl of ***Northumberland*** Admiral, he declared, and it was inſerted in his Commiſſion, "that he ſhould enjoy that Office during the Mino-"rity of the Duke of *York*; and the Duke having made his eſcape at this time, when there was this Commotion amongſt the Sea-men, it was no ſooner known that his Highneſs was in *Holland*, but the Sea-men talked aloud "that they would "go to their Admiral; and the Gentlemen of ***Kent*** ſtirring them up and inflaming them to that Reſolution, and the Seamen again preſſing the Gentlemen to haſten their Riſing in Armes, that they might aſſiſt and ſecond each other, they both declared themſelves ſooner than they ought to have done, and before they were prepared for an Enterpriſe of that importance.

THE Parliament was well inform'd of the diſtemper amongſt the Sea-men, and had therefore forborne putting the half of the Proviſions aboard the Ships, which, for the greateſt part, lay ready in the ***Downs***, wanting only half the Victual they were to have for the Summer Service. But thoſe Officers which were on board, finding they had no Authority, and that the Sea-men mocked and laughed at them, ſent every day to inform the Parliament, what mutinous humour the whole Fleet was in. Whereupon they ſent ***Rainsborough*** and ſome other Officers thither; preſuming that the preſence of the Admiral would quickly quiet all. He, being a Man of a rough imperious Nature, aſſoon as he came on board his Ship, begun to make a ſtrict Enquiry into the former Diſorders and Mutinous behaviour, upon which all the Men of his Ship retired into their old Fortreſs of One and All, and preſently laid hold on Him, and put Him, and ſuch other Officers of the Ship as they liked not, into the Boat, and ſent them on Shore. Which was no ſooner known to the reſt of the

ainsbo-ugh *and ne other ficers put Shore by e Sea-n.*

the Ships, but they followed their example, and uſed their Officers in the ſame manner. After they had for ſome days been Feaſted and Careſſed by the People of *Kent*, ſome of the Gentlemen putting themſelves on board to joyn with them, and in order to aſſiſt them towards providing ſuch neceſſaries as were wanting, they went out of the *Downs*, and ſtood for *Holland*, that they might find their Admiral; and let fall their Anchors before the *Brill*. What was done by the Gentlemen of *Kent* on Shore, and the ſucceſs thereof, will be related hereafter.

The revolte *Ships went over to* Holland.

THIS ſo very ſeaſonable revolt of the Fleet, in a conjuncture when ſo many Advantages were expected, was looked upon as a ſure Omen of the deliverance of the King. And the report that the Ships were before *Calais*, as if they had expected ſome Body there, which was true, for ſome time, was the reaſon that it was thought fit that the Prince (who had hitherto thought of nothing but being ſent for by the *Scots*, and how to find himſelf with them) ſhould make all poſſible haſt to *Calais*. This was the Cauſe of that his ſuddain motion, which was yet retarded for want of Money, and all other things neceſſary for his Journey. The Cardinal ſhewed no manner of favouring all theſe Appearances of Advantage to the King; he gave leſs countenance to *Scotland*, than he had ever done when it was in Rebellion againſt the King; and, notwithſtanding all his promiſes with reference to *Ireland*, the Marquis of *Ormond* remain'd ſtill at *Paris*, without obtaining Armes or Money in any proportion (both which had been promiſed ſo liberally) and was, after all importunities, compelled to tranſport himſelf into *Ireland* (where he was ſo importunately called for) without any manner of Supplies, which were expected. And now, when the remove of the Prince was ſo behoveful, the Cardinal utterly refuſed to furniſh him with any Money; all which diſcountenances were ſhortly after remember'd to *Cromwell*, as high merit.

The Marqui *of* Ormon *goes out of* France *int* Ireland.

THE Prince's remove was by every Body thought ſo neceſſary, that the Lord *Jermyn*, as was pretended, found means to borrow ſo much Money as was neceſſary for the Journey; which the King paid long after with full Intereſt. Dr *Goffe*, a Man well known in that time, as the chief Agent and Confident of my Lord *Jermyn*, was preſently ſent into *Holland*, to diſpoſe the Sea-men to be willing to receive the Lord *Jermyn* to Command the Fleet. So ſollicitous that Noble Man was to be in the head of any Action that was like to proſper, how unfit ſoever he was for it; having neither induſtry, nor knowledge of any thing of the Sea, and being leſs belov'd by the Sea-men than any man that could be named. The Prince made what haſt he could to *Calais*, attended by Prince *Rupert*, the Lord *Hopton*, and the Lord *Colepepper*, and ſome other Gentlemen, beſides his own Domeſticks; and finding one of the *Engliſh* Frigats before *Calais*, and underſtanding that the Duke of *York* was gone from the *Hague* to *Helvoet Sluce*, and had put himſelf on board the Fleet there, his Highneſs preſently embarked, and made the more haſt leſt his Brother ſhould be in Action before him, and was receiv'd at the Fleet with all thoſe acclamations and noiſes of joy, which that People are accuſtom'd to; they having expreſſed as much ſome days before, at the arrival of the Duke of *York*.

The Prince is receiv'd at the Fleet.

Assoon as it was known in *Holland* that the Prince of *Wales* was arriv'd, the Prince of *Orange*, with his Wife the Princeſs Royal, came preſently thither to entertain his Highneſs the beſt that place would permit, but eſpecially to rejoyce together, having not ſeen each other from the time they were Children. The Prince found the Fleet in Faction and Diſorder, and great pains had been taken to corrupt them. Sr *John Berkley*'s coming to the *Hague* to Aſſume the Government of the Duke of *York*, had not been acceptable to his Royal Highneſs; who was perſwaded by Colonel *Bamfield*, that he had been unfaithful, as well as unfortunate, in his attendance upon the King to the Iſle of *Wight*. The Colonel himſelf was ſo incenſed with it, that he uſed all the skill and inſinuation he had, to leſſen his Highneſs's reverence to the Queen, and to diſpute her Commands. Then taking the opportunity of the Fleet's being come to *Helvoet Sluce*, he went thither, and having, as is ſaid before, a wonderful Addreſs to the diſpoſing Men to Mutiny, and to work upon Common Men, which the Fleet conſiſted of, there being no Officers, for the moſt part, above the Quality of a Boat-Swaine or Maſter's-Mate, he perſwaded them "to declare for the Duke "of *York*, without any reſpect to the King or Prince; and "when his Highneſs ſhould be on board, that they ſhould not "meddle in the Quarrel between the King and the Parlia"ment, but entirely joyn with the Presbyterian Party, and "the City of *London*; which by this means would bring the "Parliament to reaſon: And he prepared his Friends the Seamen when the Duke ſhould come to them, that they would except againſt Sr *John Berkley*, and cauſe him to be diſmiſſed; and then he believ'd he ſhould be able to govern both his Highneſs and the Fleet.

Factions in the Prince's Fleet.

At the ſame time Dr *Goffe*, who was a dextrous Man too, and could comply with all Men in all the Acts of good-fellowſhip, had gotten acquaintance with others of the Sea-men, and made them jealous of *Bamfield*'s activity; and endeavour'd to perſwade them "that they ſhould all Petition the Prince (who, he knew, would be ſhortly with them) "that the Lord

"*Jermyn* might be made their Admiral; who would be able "to ſupply them with Money, and whatſoever elſe they wanted: That there was no hope of Money but from *France*, "and that the Lord *Jermyn* had all the Power and Credit "there, and might have what Money he deſired; and by theſe Agitations, the infant Loyalty of the Sea men begun to be diſtracted.

AT the ſame time the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, who had always adhered to the Presbyterians, and was of great eſteem amongſt them, though he was not tainted with their principles, had left the Parliament, and ſecretly Tranſported himſelf into *Holland*; and was arrived at *Rotterdam*, when *Bamfield* return'd from the Fleet, and went to wait upon the Duke of *York* at the *Hague*. *Bamfield* deliver'd ſuch a Meſſage from the Fleet as he thought would haſten the Duke's Journey thither; and told him, "the Sea-men made great enquiry after "the Lord *Willoughby*, and much longed to have him with "them; inſinuating to the Duke, "that he had much contri-"buted to that good diſpoſition in the Sea-men, and was pri-"vy to their revolt, and had promiſed ſpeedily to come to "them, and that it would be the moſt acceptable thing his "Highneſs could do to carry him with him to the Fleet, and "make him his Vice-Admiral. The Duke made all imaginable haſt to *Helvoet Sluce*, and immediately went on board the Admiral; where he was receiv'd with the uſual marks of joy and acclamation. He declared the Lord *Willoughby* his Vice-Admiral, and appointed ſome other Officers in the ſeveral Ships, and ſeem'd very deſirous to be out at Sea. In the mean time *Bamfield* continued his Activity; and the Doctor, finding he had little hope to raiſe his Patron to the height he propoſed, did all he could to hinder the Operation of *Bamfield*, and took all the ways he could that the Prince might be advertiſed of it, and thereupon haſten his own Journey; which did likewiſe contribute to the haſt his Highneſs made. He arriv'd at *Helvoet Sluce* very ſeaſonably to prevent many inconveniences, which would have inevitably fallen out; and the Sea-men, upon his Highneſs's appearance, return'd again into their old chearful humour; which the Prince knew would be beſt preſerv'd by Action; and therefore exceedingly deſired to be at Sea, where he was ſure he muſt be Superior to any Force the Parliament could in a ſhort time put out. But the Fleet already wanted many Proviſions, of which Beer was the chief; which, by the countenance and aſſiſtance of the Prince of *Orange*, was in a ſhort time procured in a reaſonable proportion; and then the Prince ſet ſail firſt for *Yarmouth* Road, then for the *Downs*; having ſent his Brother, the Duke of *York*, with all his Family to the *Hague*, to remain there.

The Prince comes into the Downs *with the Fleet.*

THOUGH the Duke was exceedingly troubled to leave the Fleet, which he had been perſwaded to look upon as his Province, yet he could not but acknowledge, that right reaſon would not permit they ſhould both be ventur'd at one time on board the Fleet; and, the Prince determining to engage his own Perſon, he ſubmitted to the determination; and was well content to remain with his Siſter. The Prince did not think fit to remove the Lord *Willoughby* (who, he knew, was much relied upon by the Presbyterian Party) from the Charge the Duke had given him; though he was not much known to the Sea-men. But Captain *Batten* coming at the ſame time when his Highneſs did to the Fleet, and bringing the *Conſtant Warwick*, one of the beſt Frigats the Parliament had built, with *Jordan*, and two or three Sea-men of good Command, his Highneſs knighted him, and made him Rere-Admiral of the Fleet; believing, that he could not do a more popular and acceptable thing to the Sea-men, than by putting the ſame Man, who had Commanded them ſo many years, over them again at this time; whoſe experience and government would ſupply the defects and want of skill of the Vice-Admiral, who was very willing to be adviſed by him. But the Prince ſhortly after found he was miſtaken in that expedient, and that the Sea-men (who deſired to ſerve the King upon the clear principles of Obedience, and Loyalty) did not in any degree affect *Batten*, becauſe he had failed in both, and was now of a Party towards which they had no veneration. The truth is, the Prince came prepared and diſpoſed from the Queen, to depend wholely upon the Presbyterian Party, which, beſides the power of the *Scotiſh* Army, which was every day expected to Invade *England*, was thought to be poſſeſſed of all the ſtrength of the City of *London*; and the Lord *Colepepper*, and Mr *Long*, the Prince's Secretary, were truſted by the Queen to keep the Prince ſteady and faſt to that dependence; and his Highneſs was injoyn'd to be entirely adviſed by them; though all the other Lords about him were of another mind, and the Prince himſelf not inclined that way. Dr *Steward*, the Dean of the King's Chapel whom his Majeſty had recommended to his Son to inſtruct him in all matters relating to the Church, and Dr *Earles*, and the reſt of his Chaplains, waited diligently upon him to prevent thoſe Infuſions. But, by thoſe two, the benefit of this Fleet was principally conſider'd, as a happy means to put the Prince on Shore, that he might be in the Head of the *Scotiſh* Army; and no doubt if that Army had been then enter'd into *England*, as it was very ſhortly after, the Prince would have been directed, with the Fleet, "to have followed all the advice which ſhould have been ſent from the *Scots*.

In the mean time it was thought moſt Counſellable, after the Prince had ſailed ſome days about the Coaſt, that the Kingdom might generally know that his Highneſs was there, that they ſhould all go into the River of *Thames*, and lye ſtill there; by which they expected two great Advantages; firſt, that the City would be thereby engaged to declare it ſelf, when they ſaw all their Trade obſtructed; and that their Ships homewards bound, of which, at that Seaſon of the year, they expected many, muſt fall into the Prince's hands; and then, that the preſence of the Prince in the River would hinder the Parliament from getting Seamen; and from ſetting out that Fleet which they were preparing to reduce the other, under the Command of the Earl of *Warwick*; whom they thought fit, in this exigent, again to imploy; and who, by accepting the Charge, thought he ſhould be in a better poſture to chooſe his Party, in any other alteration that ſhould happen at Land.

Thence into the River of Thames.

When the Parliament firſt heard of the Commotion in *Kent*, and ſaw the Warrants which were ſent out and ſign'd by *L'Eſtrange*, whom no body knew (and the Gentlemen of *Kent* who ſate in the Parliament, aſſured them, "that there "was no ſuch Gentleman in that County; and Sr *Edward Hales*, who likewiſe was preſent there, told them, "he was "very confident that his Grandſon could not be Embarked in "ſuch an Affair) they neglected it, and thought it a deſign to amuſe them. But when they heard that the meetings were continued, and ſaw the Declarations which were publiſhed, and were well aſſured that young *Hales* appear'd with them as their General, they thought the matter worth their care; and therefore appointed their General, "to ſend two "or three Troops of Horſe into *Kent* to ſuppreſs that ſediti-"ous Inſurrection; Sr *Edward Hales* now excuſing himſelf with revilings, threats, and deteſtation of his Grandſon; who, he proteſted, ſhould never be his Heir.

The Earl of *Holland*, who had a Commiſſion to be General, and the reſt who were engaged, were not yet ready, the *Scots* being not yet enter'd; nor did they underſtand any thing of the buſineſs of *Kent*; however when they were aſſured that they were drawn into a Body, and were ſo ſtrong that the Officers who Commanded the Troops which had been ſent to ſuppreſs them, had ſent to the Parliament word, "that "they durſt not advance, for that the Enemy was much ſtrong-"er than they, and increaſed daily; and that they had ſent a "Letter to the City of *London* inviting them to joyn with "them; the Earl of *Holland* I ſay, and the others with him, thought it fit to ſend them all the countenance, and encouragement they could; and thereupon diſpatched thoſe Officers who had been deſign'd for the Troops of that County, when the

the Seaſon ſhould be ripe, and who had hitherto lurked privately in *London* to avoid ſuſpicion. They were deſired to call their Friends together, aſſoon as was poſſible, to joyn with their Neighbours; and were told "that they ſhould "very ſhortly receive a General from the King: for they did not think Mr *Hales* equal to the work, who found his Power and Credit to grow leſs, the greater the appearance grew to be; and they begun to enquire for the King's Commiſſion. The Earl of *Holland* had form'd his Party of many Officers who had ſerv'd both the King and the Parliament; all which were in the City; and he had not yet a mind to call them together, but to expect the appearance of their Northern Friends, and therefore conſulting with the reſt, and finding the Earl of *Norwich*, who had been ſome Months in *England* under a Paſs from the Parliament (upon pretence of making his compoſition, from which he had never been excluded) willing to engage himſelf in the Conduct of thoſe in *Kent*, where he was well known and belov'd, his Affection and Zeal for the King's Service being not to be doubted, they reſolv'd that he ſhould go thither; and there being many blank Commiſſions ready to be diſpoſed as the Service ſhould require, they filled one with His name, by which the Command of all *Kent* was committed to him, "with power to lead them any "whither as the good of the King's Service ſhould make re"quiſite. And with this Commiſſion he made haſt into *Kent*, and found at *Maidſtone* a better Body of Horſe and Foot Arm'd than could have been expected; enough in number to have met any Army that was like to be brought againſt them. They all receiv'd him with wonderful Acclamations, and vowed obedience to him. Mr *Hales*, upon the news of another General to be ſent thither, and upon the ſtorms of threats and rage which fell upon him from his Grand-father, on the one ſide, and on his Wife by her Mother on the other ſide, and upon the Conſcience that he was not equal to the Charge, though his Affection was not in the leaſt declined, found means to Tranſport himſelf, and Wife, together with his Friend Mr *L'Eſtrange*, who had loſt his Credit with the People, into *Holland*; reſolving, aſſoon as he had put his Wife out of the reach of her Mother, to return himſelf, and to venture his Perſon in the Service which he could not Conduct; which he did quickly after very heartily endeavour to do.

THE importunities from *Scotland* with the Presbyterians their Correſpondents, the fame of Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*'s being well receiv'd at *Edenborough*, and that many *Engliſh* Officers and Soldiers daily flocked thither, but eſpecially the promiſes from *Paris* of Supplies of Armes, Ammunition, and Money, aſſoon as they could expect it, ſet all the other wheels going in *England* which had been preparing all the Winter. There were in South *Wales* Colonel *Laughorn*, Colonel *Powell*, and Colonel *Poyer*, who Commanded thoſe parts under the Parliament, which they had ſerv'd from the beginning: the firſt of them a Gentleman of a good Extraction, and a fair Fortune in Land in thoſe Counties, who had been bred a Page under the Earl of *Eſſex*, when he had a Command in the Low Countries, and continued his dependence upon him afterwards, and was much in his favour, and by that relation was firſt engaged in the Rebellion, as many other Gentlemen had been, without wiſhing ill to the King: the ſecond was a Gentleman too, but a Soldier of Fortune: the third, had from a low Trade raiſed himſelf in the War to the Reputation of a very diligent and ſtout Officer, and was at this time truſted by the Parliament with the Government of the Town and Caſtle of *Pembroke*. Theſe three communicated their diſcontents to each other, and all thought themſelves ill requited by the Parliament for the Service they had done, and that other Men, eſpecially Colonel *Mitton*, were preferr'd before them; and reſolv'd to take the opportunity of the *Scots* coming in, to declare for the King upon the Presbyterian Account. But *Laughorn*, who was not infected with any of thoſe freaks, and doubted not to reduce the other two, when it ſhould be time, to ſober Reſolutions, would not engage till he firſt ſent a confident to *Paris* to inform the Prince of what he had determin'd, and of what their wants conſiſted, which if not reliev'd, they ſhould not be able to purſue their purpoſe, deſiring to receive Orders for the time of their declaring, and Aſſurance that they ſhould in time receive thoſe Supplies they ſtood in need of. And the Lord *Jermyn* ſent him a promiſe under his hand, "that "he ſhould not fail of receiving all the things he had deſired, "before he could be preſſed by the Enemy; and therefore conjur'd him, and his Friends, "forthwith to declare for the "King; which he aſſured them would be of ſingular benefit, "and advantage to his Majeſty's Service; ſince, upon the firſt "notice of their having declared, the *Scotiſh* Army would be "ready to march into *England*. Hereupon they preſently declared, before they were provided to keep the Field for want of Ammunition and Money, and when *Pembroke* was not ſupplied with Proviſions for above two Months; and were never thought of after.

THE Lord *Byron* had been ſent from *Paris*, upon the importunities from *Scotland*, to get as many to declare in *England* in ſeveral places, as might diſtract the Army, and keep it from an entire Engagement againſt them; to diſpoſe his old Friends about *Cheſter* and North *Wales* to appear aſſoon as might be: and he preſently, with the help of Colonel *Robinſon*, poſſeſſed himſelf of the Iſland of *Angleſey*, and diſpoſed all North *Wales* to be ready to declare aſſoon as the *Scots* ſhould enter the Kingdom. But that which was of moſt importance, and ſeem'd already to have brought the War even into the heart of *England*, was that ſome Gentlemen, who had formerly ſerv'd the King in the Garriſon of *Newark*, and in the Northern Army, under Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*, had (by a deſign conſulted with him before his going into *Scotland*, and upon Orders receiv'd from him ſince, when he believ'd the *Scots* would be in a ſhort time ready to begin their March) ſurpriſed the ſtrong Caſtle of *Pontfret* in *York-ſhire* (which had a Garriſon in it for the Parliament) and grew preſently ſo numerous, by the reſort of Officers and Soldiers from the adjacent Counties, that they grew formidable to all thoſe parts, and made the Communication between *London* and *York* inſecure, except it was with ſtrong Troops. Upon which Argument of the ſurpriſe of *Pontfret*, We ſhall enlarge hereafter, before We ſpeak of the Tragick concluſion of this Enterpriſe. All Affairs were in this motion in *England*, before there was any appearance of an Army in *Scotland*, which they had promiſed ſhould be ready to march by the beginning of *May*.

INDEED as to the raiſing an Army in *Scotland*, the difficulties were well nigh over, nor did they ever look upon that as a thing that would trouble them, but who ſhould Command, and be General of this Army was the matter upon which the Succeſs of all they propoſed would depend; and if they could not procure Duke *Hamilton* to be made choice of for that Service, they would promiſe themſelves no good iſſue of the Undertaking. It was a hard thing to remove the old General *Leſley*, who had been hitherto in the Head of their Army in all their proſperous Succeſſes; but he was in the confidence of *Argyle*, which was objection enough againſt him, if there were no other; and the Man was grown old, and appear'd, in the Actions of the laſt Expedition into *England*, very unequal to the Command. And therefore ſome expedient was to be found to be rid of him; and they found it no hard matter to prevail with him to decline the Command, upon pretence of his Age and Infirmities, when in truth he had no mind to venture his Honour againſt the *Engliſh*, except aſſiſted by *Engliſh*, which had been his good Fortune in all the Actions of Moment he had perform'd in this War; and when he had been deſtitute of that help, he had always receiv'd ſome Affront. When by this means there was a new General to be named, Duke *Hamilton* was propoſed, as a fit Man to be imploy'd to redeem the Honour of the Nation. He had formerly diſcharged the Office of General under the King of *Sweden*, where *Leſley*, that had now declined the imployment, was Major General under him; and therefore could not be thought to be without ample experience of War.

WHILST this was depending, *Argyle* took notice of Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*'s, and Sr *Philip Muſgrave*'s being in the Town, and of ſome diſcourſes which they had uſed, or ſome other *Engliſh* Officers in their Company, and deſired "that, "if they were to have any Command in the Army, they might "preſently take the Covenant; and that there might be a general Declaration, that there ſhould be neither Officer nor "Soldier receiv'd into their Army, before he had firſt taken "the Covenant; and that, after they were enter'd into the "Kingdom of *England*, they ſhould make no conjunction with "any Forces, or Perſons, who had not done, or ſhould refuſe to do the ſame. This propoſal found no oppoſition; they who were moſt forward to raiſe the Army for the delivery of the King, being as violent as any to advance that Declaration. And though Duke *Hamilton* and his Brother of *Lanrick* did as well diſapprove it in their own judgement, as they did foreſee, out of the long experience they had of *England*, what prejudice it would bring upon them there, yet they had not the Courage in any degree to ſpeak againſt it; and the Chancellor of *Scotland*, and the Earl of *Lautherdale* were as paſſionate for the Advancement of it, as *Argyle* himſelf; and ſeem'd to think that thoſe two Gentlemen either had already taken, or would be willing to take it.

IT can hardly be believ'd, that, after ſo long knowledge of *England*, and their obſervation of whom the King's Party did conſiſt, after their ſo often conferences with the King without prevailing upon him, in any degree, either to preſerve himſelf at *New-Caſtle* from being deliver'd up to the Parliament, or in their laſt agitation with him, when he yielded to ſo many unreaſonable particulars to gratify them, to conſent to or promiſe, "that any Man ſhould be compell'd to "take the Covenant; that they ſhould ſtill adhere to that fatal Combination againſt the Church, which they could never hope to bring to paſs, except they intended only to change the hand, and to keep the King under as ſtrict a reſtraint, when they ſhould get him into Their hands, as he was under the domination of the Parliament and Army: yet they were ſo infatuated with this reſolution, that they diſcovered their apprehenſion of the King's Party, and deſign'd no leſs to oppreſs Them than the Independents, and Anabaptiſts; and upon the news of the revolt of the Fleet from the Parliament to the King, the Inſurrection in *Kent*, and other places, and the general inclinations throughout the Kingdom for the

King, they ſlacken'd their preparations, that they might defer their March, to the end that all that ſtrength might be oppreſſed and reduced, that ſo they might be abſolute Maſters after they had prevailed over the Army. And at laſt, when they could defer their March no longer, upon the importunate preſſure of their Friends in ***London***, they ſent the Earl of ***Lautherdale*** with thoſe inſolent inſtructions, which will be mention'd anon, and poſitively required the Prince immediately to repair to them; declaring, “that if his Perſon ſhould “not be forthwith in their Army, they would return again “into *Scotland* without making any attempt; and the knowing this reſolution, was the reaſon that the Queen was ſo poſitive in her Inſtructions, notwithſtanding the appearance of any other Advantage to the King in ***England***.

SIR *Marmaduke Langdale* and S^r^ *Philip Muſgrave* no ſooner heard of this Declaration, than they went to thoſe Lords, and expoſtulated very ſharply with them, for “having broken “their Faiths, and betrayed them into their Country; where “they were looked upon as Enemies. They were Anſwer'd, “that they muſt give over their deſign to redeem the King, “or yield to this determination, which their Parliament was “ſo firm and united in; and would never depart from. And therefore they entreated them with all imaginable importunity, that they would take the Covenant; ſome of them deſiring to confer with them upon it, and undertaking to ſatisfy them, that the Covenant did not include thoſe things in it, which they thought it did. But when they ſaw thoſe Gentlemen would not be prevailed with, but that on the contrary they reſolv'd preſently to leave the Country; and told them, “they would undeceive thoſe honeſt People in ***England***, who “were too much inclined to truſt them; and that they ſhould “find that they had a harder work in hand than they imagined; the *Scotiſh* Lords knew well enough of what importance their preſence was to be to them, for their very entrance into *England*; and thereupon deſired them, “that they would have “a little patience, and again abſent themſelves from ***Edenbo-*** “***rough***, till the heat of this diſpute was over, and till the “Army ſhould be ready to march; and Duke ***Hamilton***, who had a marvellous inſinuation to get himſelf believ'd, aſſured them in confidence, “that aſſoon as he ſhould find himſelf in “the head of his Army, and upon their march, there ſhould “be no more talk of Covenants, but that all the King's Friends “ſhould be welcome, and without diſtinction. So they left ***Edenborough*** again, and went to their old Quarters; where they had not ſtayed long, before the Duke ſent for them to come to him in private; and, after a very chearful reception, he told them, “he was now ready; and that their Friends in

" *England* called ſo importunately for them, that he was reſolv'd to march in very few days; which he thought neceſſary to communicate to them, not only for the Friendſhip he had for them; which would always keep him without reſerve towards them; but becauſe he muſt depend upon them two to ſurpriſe the Towns of *Berwick* and *Carliſle*, againſt the time he ſhould be able to march thither; for he intended to march between thoſe two Places.

THE work was not hard to be perform'd by them, they having, from their firſt entrance into *Scotland*, adjuſted with their Friends who inhabited near thoſe places, to be ready for that enterpriſe when they ſhould be called upon; which they then believ'd would have been much ſooner; ſo that they were willing to undertake it, and demanded Commiſſions from the Duke for the doing thereof; which he excuſed himſelf for not giving, under pretence of "the ſecrecy that was neceſſary; in reſpect whereof he would not truſt his own Secretary; and likewiſe, as a thing unneceſſary for the work; ſince it was their own reputation and intereſt, and their being known to have been always truſted by the King, by which they could bring it to paſs, and not His Commiſſion; for which thoſe Towns would have no reverence. Beſides, he told them, "that the Marquis of *Argyle* had ſtill proteſted againſt their beginning the War by any Act of Hoſtility againſt the *Engliſh*, in forcing any of the Towns; which was not neceſſary in order to the King's deliverance; but that an Army might march to the place where the King was, to the end that thoſe Meſſengers who were ſent by the State to ſpeak with the King, might have liberty to ſpeak with his Majeſty; which was a Right of the Kingdom, and the demanding it could be no breach of the Pacification between the two Kingdoms.

THIS Argument, they knew, was not reaſonable enough to ſway the Duke. But they foreſaw two other reaſons, which did prevail with him not to give thoſe Commiſſions they deſired, which otherwiſe might have been given with the ſame ſecrecy that the buſineſs was to be acted with; the one, the Order againſt giving any Commiſſion to any Man before he had taken the Covenant: And how much Authority ſoever the Duke might take upon him to diſpenſe with that Order after he ſhould be in *England*, it might not be convenient that he ſhould aſſume it whilſt he remain'd yet at *Edenborough*: the other was, that, when they had done it without his Commiſſion, he might, upon his March, or aſſoon as he came thither, diſpoſſeſs them of the Government, and put *Scots*-men into their places; the laſt of which he did not diſſemble to them; but confeſſed "that, though the Council of *Scotland*, “would not attempt the taking of thoſe Towns, yet when “They ſhould be taken, they would expect the Government “thereof ſhould be in Their hands, and depend upon Them, “without which they ſhould not be able to ſend him thoſe continual Supplies which he expected from them. And there being then a recruit of five or ſix thouſand, which Sr *George Monroe* had near raiſed in the North, and from *Ireland*, who were to begin their March after him, aſſoon as he ſhould be out of *Scotland*, the two Gentlemen had no purpoſe of remaining in thoſe Governments, well knowing that their preſence would be of importance to the Army, at leaſt whilſt they ſtayed in the Northern Counties; yet they knew well, it was for the Service that thoſe Towns ſhould remain in the hands of the *Engliſh*, without which few of the Gentlemen of thoſe Parts would declare themſelves, how well affected ſoever they were; which when they had offer'd to the Duke, they left it to him, and accepted the imployment he preſſed them to undertake, and parted to put the ſame in execution in both places at one time, all things being concerted between them to that purpoſe.

SIR *Marmaduke Langdale* had ſeveral Officers, and Soldiers, laid privately on the *Scotiſh* ſide to wait his Commands, and more on the *Engliſh*; there being two or three good Families within two or three Miles of *Berwick*, who were well affected and ready to appear when they ſhould be required; in expectation whereof they had harboured many Men. Some of them Sr *Marmaduke* appointed to meet him, on the *Scotiſh* ſide, at a place about a Mile diſtant from *Berwick*, the Night before he intended the ſurpriſe, and the reſt to be in the Town by the riſing of the Sun; ſome about the Market place, and ſome upon the Bridge, by which he muſt enter. The next Morning, being Market day, when great droves of little Horſes, laden with ſacks of Corn, always reſorted to the Town, Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*, with about a hundred Horſe, and ſome few Foot, which walked with the Market People, preſently after Sun riſing, was upon the Bridge, before there was any apprehenſion; and finding his Friends there whom he expected, he cauſed the Bridge preſently to be drawn up, and guarded by his Foot, and ſent others to the other parts. Himſelf with moſt of his Troops went into the Market place, where he found his Country Friends ready to do all he would Command. There was ſo general a conſternation ſeiſed upon the whole Town, there being no other Garriſon but Towns-men, that after they had ſeiſed upon the Mayor, who was the Governour, all things were in a ſhort time ſo quiet, that they open'd their Ports again, that the Market might not be interrupted. Sr *Philip Muſgrave*, with

M.Lang-
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as little oppoſition, poſſeſſed himſelf of *Carliſle*; where he had a greater Intereſt; and the People were generally better affected to the King, and more diſinclined to the *Scots* than thoſe of *Berwick* uſed to be; and they both haſten'd advertiſement to the Duke of what they had done.

IT will be much wonder'd at, that after *Cromwell* plainly foreſaw they ſhould have a War with *Scotland*, and had conſtant Intelligence from thence of the Advances they made, he did not take care to put Garriſons into thoſe two Important places, the very ſtrength of which could for ſome time have withſtood all the power which *Scotland* could have brought againſt them. But the ſame reaſon which had been current at *Edenborough* to this very time, had prevail'd at *Weſtminſter*. It was ſpecially provided for by the Act of Pacification between the two Kingdoms, when the Parliaments of both Kingdoms Combined againſt the King, "that there ſhould be "no more Garriſons kept on either ſide in *Berwick* or *Carliſle*; where they were then disbanded, and ſome of their Fortifications ſlighted; which could eaſily have been repaired; and, without repairing, could have kept out an Enemy for ſome time. And the Parliament would not now permit any Men to be ſent thither, that the *Scots* might not pretend that the War was begun by them; but left *Berwick* to the Government of the Mayor and the Citizens; who could have defended themſelves againſt the *Scots* if they had expected them. But the truth is, *Cromwell* had ſo perfect a contempt of the whole ſtrength of that Nation, that he never cared what Advantage ground they had upon any Field, or what place they ever poſſeſſed.

SIR *Marmaduke Langdale* and Sr *Philip Muſgrave* were no ſooner poſſeſſed of *Berwick*, and *Carliſle*, than all the Gentlemen, Officers, and Soldiers thereabouts, who had formerly ſerv'd the King, reſorted and flocked to them well Armed, appointed, and provided for the War; ſo that they had not only very ſufficient Garriſons to keep thoſe places, but Troops enough of Horſe to free the adjacent Counties from thoſe Forces, and Committees, and other Perſons, who were either publickly engaged in, or well known privately to wiſh well to the Parliament. It was upon the 28th of *April* that Sr *Marmaduke Langdale* poſſeſſed himſelf of *Berwick*; and ſoon after Sr *Philip Muſgrave* ſurpriſed *Carliſle*, about eight of the Clock at Night, many Gentlemen of the Neighbours being in, and about the Town, expecting his Arrival; ſo that the Citizens were in confuſion, and made little reſiſtance. It is very true, they had both given under their hands to Duke *Hamilton*, that they would deliver up the Towns to him when he ſhould require them; he having aſſured them, "that the King had

"promiſed,

"promiſed, under his hand, that thoſe two Towns ſhould be "deliver'd into the poſſeſſion of the *Scots*; which it muſt needs be ſuppoſed that they ſhould firſt take from the Parliament, in whoſe poſſeſſion they were both when the King ſign'd the Engagement at *Carisbrook* Caſtle. And the Duke had not only refuſed to give them any Men, or other Aſſiſtance towards the taking them, but, as hath been ſaid, would not grant them his Commiſſion to perform it; pretending "that "he durſt not do it, becauſe they were bound not to begin "the War: only He, and the other Lords of his Fraternity, promiſed "to ſend five hundred Muskets, and ten Barrels of "Powder to each Garriſon; and that their whole Army ſhould "march into *England* within twenty days; and that, if they "were ſooner in diſtreſs, they ſhould be ſure to be reliev'd.

BUT after he heard that both places were poſſeſſed by them, he deferr'd not to ſend a Governour and Garriſon to receive *Berwick*; to whom Sr *Marmaduke Langdale* deliver'd it according to his promiſe; and was required "to march with all "the *Engliſh* to the parts adjacent to *Carliſle*, and there to "encreaſe his Troops to what Number he could, with what "expedition was poſſible; which he perform'd ſo effectually, that, in very few days, he had a Rendezvous upon a Heath within five Miles of *Carliſle*, where he Muſter'd above three thouſand Foot well Arm'd, and ſeven hundred Horſe not ſo well Arm'd; all which were raiſed in *Cumberland*, and *Weſtmoreland*, over and above the Garriſon of *Carliſle*; which yet remain'd under Sr *Philip Muſgrave*; and, within two days, five hundred Horſe, very well appointed, came out of *Yorkſhire*, the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, and the Neighbour parts; ſo that Sr *Marmaduke Langdale* reſolv'd preſently to march into *Lancaſhire*, to reduce thoſe who were for the Parliament there; which he could eaſily have done, the Lord *Byron* being ready upon the Borders of *Cheſhire* to have joyn'd with him. But this quick advance and progreſs towards an Army, was not well looked upon at *Edenborough*; and an Expreſs was diſpatched with poſitive Orders to Sr *Marmaduke Langdale* "not "to Engage or Fight with the Enemy, upon what advantage "ſoever, until the *Scotiſh* Army ſhould come up. And whereever that Expreſs ſhould overtake Sr *Marmaduke*, he was immediately to retire with his Forces near *Carliſle*; which he obey'd aſſoon as he receiv'd the Order, and when he might have marched againſt *Lambert*; who was ſent before with a leſs ſtrength than Sr *Marmaduke* Commanded, and which in all probability would have been Defeated.

BUT, as if this had not been diſcouragement enough, within one or two days after that Expreſs, Letters were ſent from the Council in *Scotland*, by which Sr *Marmaduke Langdale* was very ſeverely reprehended, "for receiving Papiſts into his "Army, and not owning the Covenant in the Declarations "which he had publiſhed; and told, "that he ſhould receive "no Aſſiſtance from Them, except the Covenant was em-"braced by all his Army. This ſtruck at the root of all their hopes; and was ſo contrary to all the Engagements they had receiv'd from the *Scotiſh* Lords, both by Words and Letters, "that they ſhould never be troubled with any ſuch motions, "after they were once upon *Engliſh* ground; and that then "they ſhould proceed upon thoſe Grounds as were like to "bring in moſt Men to their Aſſiſtance; that S^r^ *Marmaduke* prevail'd with S^r^ *Philip Muſgrave* to make a Journey forthwith to *Edenborough*, to expoſtulate upon the whole matter, and declare their firm Reſolution to the Lords there.

SIR *Philip Muſgrave*, that it might appear that they did not exclude any who had taken the Covenant, and were willing to joyn with them, carried a liſt with him of the names of many Officers in their Troops who had been compell'd to take the Covenant before they could be admitted to compoſition, or procure the Sequeſtrations to be taken from their Eſtates, and of ſome others who had taken it for quietneſs ſake in the places where they liv'd; with which the *Scots* were in ſome degree mitigated, but ſeem'd to retain ſtill their rigour, that it ſhould be ſubmitted to by the whole Army.

Lamber *marches a gainſt the*

IN the mean time *Lambert*, having gotten a ſtrong Body of Horſe and Foot, advanced upon S^r^ *Marmaduke Langdale*; who, being enjoyn'd not to Fight, was forced to retire to *Carliſle*, and ſuffer himſelf to be, upon the matter, blocked up on one ſide, whilſt he ſent Letter upon Letter to the Duke "to haſten his March, or to ſend ſome Troops to his Aſ-"ſiſtance, and Liberty to Fight the Enemy.

The Ear Norwic Maidſto *with the* Kentiſ *Forces.*

THE Earl of *Norwich* had found the Aſſembly at *Maidſtone* very numerous, but likewiſe very diſorderly, and without Government, not eaſy to be reduced under any Command. They had been long enough together to enter into Jealouſies of one another, and from thence into Factions, and were of ſeveral opinions what they were to do. And though they all pretended an entire ſubmiſſion and obedience to the Earl of *Norwich* as their General, yet no Man forbore to deliver his opinion of Things and Perſons, nor to enquire by what means they had firſt been drawn together; which imply'd that many Men wiſh'd they had been to begin again. The Earl was a Man fitter to have drawn ſuch a Body together by his frolick and pleaſant humour, which reconciled People of all conſtitutions wonderfully to him, than to form and conduct them towards any Enterpriſe. He had always liv'd in the Court in ſuch a ſtation of buſineſs as raiſed him very few Enemies; and his pleaſant and jovial Nature, which was every where acceptable, made him many Friends, at leaſt made many delight in his Company. So that by the great favour he had with the King and Queen, and the little prejudice he ſtood in with any Body elſe, he was very like, if the fatal diſorder of the time had not blaſted his hopes, to have grown Maſter of a very fair Fortune; which was all that he propoſed to himſelf. But he had no experience or knowledge of the War, nor knew how to exerciſe the Office he had taken upon him of General, but was very willing to pleaſe every Man, and comply with every Bodies humour; which was quickly diſcover'd; and ſo Men withdrew the Reverence they were prepared to have paid him, and grew more obſtinate in their own opinions what was to be done; and the indiſpoſition increaſed, when they heard that ***Fairfax*** himſelf was appointed to march towards them. They who beſt underſtood the Affair, and how to apply the ſtrength they had to the beſt advantage, adviſed "that they might retire beyond ***Rocheſter***, and by breaking down the Bridge "there, and Fortifying another Paſs or two, which was eaſy "to be done, they might keep the Enemy from entring into "the Eaſt of ***Kent*** (which was the largeſt and beſt part of that rich and populous County) "longer than they would be "able to continue the attempt, for fear of being incloſed by "an Enemy at their back, if the City of ***London***, or thoſe of "***Eſſex***, who were moſt ſpoken of, had a mind to declare for "the King; and by this means they might be ſure of a correſpondence with the Fleet; of the return whereof in a ſhort time they were moſt confident; and the more, becauſe ſome Gentlemen of their own Body were on board the Fleet in ſome Authority, who, they knew, would haſten their return all they could.

MANY were the more perſwaded that the Fleet was gone to the Iſle of *Wight* for the reſcue of the King, becauſe thoſe Gentlemen were gone in it. And without doubt that advice was the moſt reaſonable, and if it had been purſued might have kept the Enemy at a Bay for ſome time. But other Men leſs reaſonable were of another mind: they did not believe "that ***Fairfax*** could have leiſure to look after them; they "were confident that the Parliament had ſo many Enemies "to look after, thoſe in *Wales* growing ſtrong, and having "beaten the Party that had been ſent againſt them; and the "Officers in the North, who had ſeiſed upon ***Pontfret*** Caſtle "in ***York-ſhire***, and had drawn in a ſtrong Garriſon from the "parts adjacent, had a Body of Horſe, that infeſted all thoſe "parts; and the *Scots* were upon their march for ***England***;

“ and therefore they concluded that *Fairfax* could not be at “ leiſure to viſit them: The retiring would be an Argument “ of fear, which would diſhearten their Friends at *London*, “ and all thoſe of that part of *Kent*, which muſt be deſerted “ upon their Retreat, would deſert them, aſſoon as that reſo- “ lution ſhould be known; and therefore they deſired, “that “ they might all march towards *Black-Heath*; which would “ raiſe the Spirits of their Friends, and many would reſort “ every day to them out of *London* and the parts adjacent; “ all which were eminently well affected.

The Kentiſh *Army marches towards* Black-Heath.

THE Noiſe for this was the greater, and the Earl of *Norwich* himſelf was thereby ſwayed to be of that opinion; and ſo they reſolv'd to advance, and a ſhort day was appointed for a general Rendezvous upon *Black-Heath*; and Orders were ſent out accordingly.

THE diſturbance in ſo many places made the reſolution of the General now to be known, which had been hitherto carefully concealed, “that *Fairfax* himſelf was not willing to “march againſt the *Scots*; which was not now Counſellable for him to do. *Cromwell* was very willing to take that Province to himſelf, and had always ſo great a contempt of the *Scots*, that he was willing to march with a much leſſer Number than he well knew the *Scotiſh* Army to conſiſt of; and being inform'd which way the *Scots* reſolv'd to enter the Kingdom, and that they were even ready to march, he advanced to meet them, aſſoon as they ſhould be enter'd, with thoſe Troops which he had made choice of, having firſt ſuppreſſed the Riſings in South *Wales* by taking of *Pembroke* Caſtle, and making Priſoners therein *Laughorn*, *Powel*, and *Poyer*, the heads of that Inſurrection, and not troubling himſelf with *Pontfret* Caſtle, which he thought would not be of great conſequence, if the *Scots* were ſubdued.

Cromwel *advances againſt the* Scots.

FAIRFAX, with a numerous part of the Army, remain'd in and about *London* to ſuppreſs the Inſurrection in *Kent*, and watch any other which ſhould fall out in the City or thereabouts; of which they had more apprehenſion than of all the power of *Scotland*. And ſo when the Parliament was advertiſed by their Troops which were firſt ſent, that they were too weak to advance farther, and heard that the Earl of *Norwich* was declared General of the *Kentiſh* Troops, and was marching in the Head of them towards *Black-Heath*, *Fairfax* drew all his Army together, and his Cannon, and marched over *London* Bridge to meet the Men of *Kent* at *Black-Heath*, and to ſtop their march to *London*. The Earl was now advanced ſo far, and *Fairfax* advanced too faſt to put the former Counſel in practice, of breaking down the Bridges, and keeping the Paſſes, and they who had oppoſed that

Fairfax *againſt the* Kentiſh *Men.*

that Counſel, and were ſo forward to advance, thought they were now too far. The Country-men were weary of being all night in the Field, though it was the warmeſt Seaſon o the Year, and many withdrew themſelves every day; ſo that they who remain'd had no reaſon to believe themſelves equal to the power that march'd towards them, and yet there were more left than could hope to preſerve themſelves by flying, and by concealment. And therefore, as *Fairfax* advanced, the *Kentiſh* Forces drew back; made ſeveral ſtands; but, being hard preſſed, they divided, ſome retiring to *Rocheſter*, others to *Maidſtone*. Thoſe at *Maidſtone* had a ſharp Encounter with the General's whole ſtrength, and Fought very bravely, but were at laſt Defeated. In the mean time the Earl of *Norwich*, and divers other Officers who were with the Party at *Rocheſter*, quitting that place, march'd back towards *London*, in hope ſtill of the City's joyning with them. But that failing, and apprehending *Fairfax* would be ſoon in their Rear, the Earl and thoſe who remain'd, and deſign'd to run the utmoſt hazard, reſolv'd to paſs themſelves and their Horſes by ſuch Boats as they had ready about *Greenwich*, and down the River, over into *Eſſex*, where they knew they had many Friends, and where *Fairfax* and his Army could not viſit them in ſome days. So they made a ſhift to tranſport themſelves to the number of near a thouſand Men, Horſe and Foot; whereof many were Officers and Soldiers who had ſerv'd the King, and young Gentlemen grown up in Loyal Families, who had been too young to appear before.

The Earl of Norwich, *and ſome Forces, tranſport themſelves into* Eſſex; *and fix in* Colcheſter.

THEY found many Perſons in *Eſſex* ready to joyn with them, who came ſooner together than they intended, upon the Alarm of *Kent*; and who had purpoſed to have paſſed over into *Kent* to have joyn'd with, and aſſiſted thoſe who had ſo frankly appear'd for the King, if they had not been prevented by their unexpected coming to them. There was the brave Lord *Capel*, Sr *William Compton*, Sr *Charles Lucas*, Sr *George Liſle*, all excellent Officers. There was Sr *Bernard Gaſcoign*, and many other Gentlemen, and Officers of Name, who had drawn together many Soldiers. To theſe joyn'd Colonel *Farr*; who had ſerv'd the Parliament, and was a known Creature and Confident of the Earl of *Warwick's*, and had at that time the Command of *Languard Point*, a Fort of importance upon the Sea; ſo that when they were all come together, with thoſe who came from *Kent*, they made a Body of above three thouſand Horſe and Foot, with Officers enough to have form'd and commanded a very good Army.

THEY well knew *Fairfax* would quickly viſit them, and therefore they choſe to poſt themſelves in *Colcheſter*, a great and populous Town, which though unfortified, they caſt up ſuch works before the Avenues, that they did not much fear to be forced by an Aſſault; and reſolv'd to expect a Conjunction with other of their Friends; and were in great hopes that the *Scotiſh* Army, which they heard was upon its march, would be with them before they could be diſtreſſed.

THEY had ſcarce put themſelves and the Town, which was not glad of their company, into any order, before *Fairfax* came upon them; who made no ſtay in *Kent*, after he heard what was become of the Earl of *Norwich* and his Friends; but left two or three Troops of Horſe to ſettle that County, with the aſſiſtance of their Committees, who had been driven from thence, and returning now Victorious knew well enough how to deal with thoſe who had revolted from them. When he came firſt before *Colcheſter*, and ſaw it without any Fortifications, he thought preſently to have enter'd the Town with his Army; but he found ſo rude reſiſtance, that by the advice of *Ireton*, who was left by *Cromwell* to watch the General as well as the Army, he reſolv'd to encompaſs it with his Troops, and without hazarding the loſs of Men to block them up, till Famine ſhould reduce them; and diſpoſed his Army accordingly; which quickly ſtopped up all Paſſages by which either Men or Proviſions ſhould get into the Town; though by many brave Sallies from within, their Quarters were often beaten up, and many Valiant Men were loſt on both ſides.

Fairfax *beſieges them.*

THE Fleet, after it had, with all imaginable chearfulneſs, ſubmitted to the Command of the Prince, was not ſo active as it was expected it ſhould be; and was very much the worſe for the Factions, and Diviſions, which were amongſt thoſe who attended upon the Prince; who, according to their ſeveral humours, endeavour'd to work upon the Sea-men; a People capable of any impreſſion, but not very retentive of it. Prince *Rupert*, to whom the Prince was very kind, did not, upon many old conteſts in the late War, love the Lord *Colepepper*, who was not of a temper that cared to court him: and there was one, who had the greateſt influence on Prince *Rupert*, *Herbert* the Atturney General, that of all Men living was moſt diſpoſed to make diſcord and diſagreement between Men; all his faculties being reſolv'd into a ſpirit of contradicting, diſputing, and wrangling upon any thing that was propoſed. He having no title or pretence to interpoſe in Councils, and yet there being no ſecret in the Debates there, found it eaſy to infuſe into Prince *Rupert*, who totally reſign'd himſelf to his Advice, ſuch Arguments as might diſturb any Reſolution: and there were ſo many who were angry that they were not admitted into the Council, as the Lords *Piercy*,

Factions in the Prince's Fleet.

Wilmot, and *Wentworth*, that it was no hard matter to get an thing diſliked that was reſolv'd there. They had all that admiſſion and countenance from the Prince, that they had a much confidence to ſpeak to, and before him, as any wher elſe. Prince *Rupert* had a great mind that ſomewhat ſhoul be attempted upon the Coaſt, which might have cauſed ſom Sea Towns, and the parts adjacent, to have declared for th King; which ſeem'd not a deſign that would bear a reaſonable diſcourſe. But Action was a very grateful word to th Sea-men, and they who oppoſed any thing that tended towar it, were looked upon with great jealouſy and prejudice. Bu the Prince was obliged, as hath been ſaid, by his Inſtruction at *Paris*, not to engage himſelf in any thing that might diver him from being ready at the minute when the *Scots* ſhoul call for his preſence; and they expected the firſt intimatio of that from *London*; from whence they had the aſſurance a ready, that Duke *Hamilton* was enter'd into the Kingdo with an Army of above thirty thouſand Men; which was the generally thought true, though they fell far ſhort of th number.

It enters the River of Thames; *takes ſeveral Ships.*

WHEN the Prince came with the Fleet into the Sea fro *Helvoet Sluce*, he met a Ship of *London* bound for *Rotterda* and laden with Cloath by the Company of Merchant Adve turers, who did not think that the Fleet could have been ſoon ready for Sea. This Ship was taken, and the Decks b ing Sealed up, was kept under Guard with the Fleet; whic at their Entrance into the River of *Thames*, took many oth Ships of great value outward bound, and intercepted all Ve ſels homeward bound, and amongſt thoſe an Eaſt India Sh richly laden, and the more welcome becauſe the Ship it ſ was a very ſtrong Ship, and would make an excellent Man War, and the Captain thereof was a Sea-man of Courag and Experience, and was very well inclined to ſerve the Kin and, without doubt, if all the Ships which were then take had been ſent into ſome ſecure Ports, the value of the Goo would have mounted to ſo great a Sum, as might have cou tervailed a very great Expence at Sea and Land. But as would have been very difficult to have found ſuch a ſecu Port, where that Treaſure might have been depoſited, ſo was not ſuitable to thoſe meaſures which had been taken, a were ſtill purſued, for his Royal Highneſs's proceedings. T City of *London* was to be courted by all the Artifices imag able, and that was ſo alarm'd by the Fleet's being in the Riv and by the Seizure of ſo many of their Ships, eſpecially Cloath Ship, that there was a general conſternation amongſt People: and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen applied themſel to the Parliament, for leave to ſend down ſome Agents to

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Fleet to procure a releaſe of that Ship; and if that could not be brought to paſs, that they might buy it at as good rate as they could get it. Which was the introducing ſuch a Commerce and Correſpondence between the Fleet and the City, in ſuch a conjuncture of jealouſy, that moſt Men believ'd the Parliament would never have hearken'd to it; and concluded, from the granting it, that there was another ſort of Treaſure incloſed in that Ship, than what belonged to the Merchant Adventurers; and that many of thoſe who granted that indulgence to the City, had more Money on board that Veſſel than the Cloath was worth, though the value thereof amounted to no leſs than forty thouſand pounds.

Commiſſioners ſent to the Prince from the City with a Petition.

UPON this liberty granted by the Parliament, a Committee was ſent from the City with a Petition to the Prince of *Wales*, “that he would reſtore the Ship which belonged to his Father's good Subjects. With theſe Men came Letters from ſome of thoſe who were well known to be very ſollicitous at that time for the advancement of the King's Service, and privy to the Treaty with the *Scots*, and whatever was intended by the Earl of *Holland*: The Counteſs of *Carliſle*, who was truſted by all that People, and had gotten again confidence with the Queen, truſted Mr *Lowe*, who was imployed by the City in this Negotiation, to ſay many things to the Prince of the good inclinations of the City, and how neceſſary it was not to irritate it. And he brought other Letters, and Teſtimonies to give him credit, as a Man truſted by all who intended to ſerve the King, who had with wonderful Addreſs got him to be one of thoſe imployed by the City, that he might, under that ſecurity, give ſuch Animadverſions to the Prince, and to his Council, as was neceſſary. He was a Man intelligent enough of the ſpirit and humour of the City, and very converſant with the Nobility and Gentry about the Town; and though he was truſted by the Presbyterian Party, as a Man entirely addicted to Them, he took pains to inſinuate himſelf into many of the King's Party, which did believe him fit to be truſted in any thing that might concern them. But he was a Man of ſo voluble a Tongue, and ſo everlaſting a Talker, and ſo undertaking and vain, that no ſober Man could be impoſed upon by him.

The Prince writes to the City.

UPON the receipt of this Petition, the Prince writ a long Letter to the City, and incloſed in it a Declaration, for the publiſhing of both which in Print care was taken, the ſubſtance of which was, “the great affection he bore to the City, “and the proſperity thereof; the whole being in ſuch a Style as might beſt pleaſe the Presbyterians, with leſs care than ſhould have been uſed to preſerve the Zeal of the King's Party; and deſiring “that they ſhould joyn with him for the delivery

" of the King his Father out of Priſon, and to make a goo
"underſtanding between his Majeſty and the Parliament
" which his Highneſs deſired with all imaginable concern
" ment. The Citizens quickly found, that there was no hop
to have their Ship releaſed without a good Sum of Mone
which the Prince told them " was abſolutely neceſſary for th
" payment of the Sea-men, and he would receive it as a loa
"from them, and repay it when a Peace ſhould be made. S
ſome of them return'd to *London*, and the reſt remain'd wit
the Fleet, coming and going for a Month, and driving man
bargains for other Ships. By this means the Prince receiv'
Advertiſement of the *Scots* continuing their march, and th
thoſe who were incloſed in *Colecheſter*, were in a very goo
condition, and willing to expect relief; which they would b
ſure to receive in due time, the Earl of *Holland* being read
to declare aſſoon as their preſſures ſhould require it. Aft
near a Months negotiation, there was about twelve thouſan
pounds paid to the Prince, and thereupon that Cloath Sh
was deliver'd to the Merchants, with a general opinion, as ha
been ſaid, that there was ſomewhat elſe beſides Cloath in th
Body of it; for which there was not any Search ſuffer'd to b
made.

WHILST the Prince lay in the *Downs*, there was an E
terpriſe neceſſary to be made on Shore, which did not ſucce
to wiſh. Upon the firſt revolt of the Fleet from the Parli
ment, and before it ſet ſail for *Holland*, it had taken one
two of thoſe Block-Houſes, or Caſtles, which are neareſt t
Downs; and had left ſome Sea-men in them, with ſufficie
Proviſions to defend themſelves till the Fleet ſhould retur
The Prince found theſe Block-Houſes beſieged, and receiv
Intelligence out of them, that their Proviſions were ſo ne
ſpent, that they could not hold out above ſo many days. T
ſtrength that lay before them, conſiſted more in Horſe th
Foot; and at high Tyde the Boats might go ſo near, th
there ſeem'd little difficulty of putting in relief, or to comp
the Beſiegers to riſe: and the Sea-men, having nothing elſe
do, offer'd to undertake the Service for the redemption of the
Fellows; many Land Officers being likewiſe on board, a
ſome Foot Soldiers, the Prince ſent ſome of thoſe with t
Sea-men to undertake the buſineſs, but it had no good iſſu
the Tyde was too far ſpent before it begun; whereby th
had more ground to march between their Landing and t
Caſtle than they imagined, and the Horſe charged them wi
ſuch reſolution, that many of the Men were killed, and mo
taken Priſoners, and the reſt forced to their Boats with mo
diſorder than became them. And ſome other attempts bei
afterwards made with no better ſucceſs, the Block-Houſes
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laſt came into the hands of the Enemy; which, though of little inconvenience to the Prince, thoſe Forts being of very ſmall importance to do any prejudice, yet there was ſome diſreputation in it; and it diſcredited the deſigns, which had not yet appear'd very proſperous in any place; and any acceſs of good Fortune raiſed the Spirits of the Parliament's Party, who eaſily were perſwaded to think it greater than it was, in a time when they lay under ſome Mortification.

The Parliament prepares a Flee against the Revolted Fleet, unde Command of the Earl of Warwick.

BY this time another Fleet was prepared by the Parliament of more and better Ships than had Revolted, and the Command thereof given to the Earl of *Warwick*; who very frankly accepted it; and was already on board, and with the Tyde was come within ſight of the Prince; and there dropped Anchor. So that both Fleets lay within that diſtance of each other, that there was now nothing thought of but a Battle; to which there ſeem'd all alacrity in the Prince's Fleet; and, it may be, the more upon the Intelligence that the other was not well Mann'd, and that many were put on board who had more affection for the King; which they would manifeſt when they came within diſtance: but whether that fancy was from Imagination or Intelligence, it ſeem'd to have no foundation in truth.

The Prince writes to the Earl of War wick. H Anſwer.

THE Earl of *Warwick* and his Fleet appear'd reſolute and prepared enough for an Engagement: yet it was well known, that the Earl was privy to the Engagement of his Brother the Earl of *Holland*, and had promiſed to joyn with him. And therefore it was thought fit, that the Prince ſhould write to the Earl to ſummon, or invite him to return to his Allegiance. This was ſent by *Harry Seymour*, who quickly return'd with an Anſwer from the Earl, which, in terms of Duty enough, humbly beſought his Highneſs "to put himſelf into the hands "of the Parliament; and that the Fleet with him might ſubmit to their Obedience; upon which they ſhould be pardoned for their Revolt.

THOUGH this might well have ſatisfied concerning the Earl's inclination, yet the Prince was prevail'd with that Mr *Crofts* might give the Earl a viſit; who, having more acquaintance with him, having Married his Aunt, might be able to get a private Audience of the Earl; which *Seymour* endeavour'd, but could not obtain. But *Crofts* return'd as the other did; and now there wanted only a Wind to bring them together, which coming fair for the Prince, he reſolv'd to attack them. All Anchors were weigh'd, and preparations made to advance to the Aſſault, the whole Fleet being under Sail towards the other; which ſeem'd equally reſolv'd and diſpoſed, though the Wind, which drove the Prince upon them, compell'd them a little to retire, where the River was ſomewhat narrower. In an inſtant the Wind ceaſed, and there was a Calm; ſo that the Prince could not advance; and ſome doubts aroſe, upon the narrowing of the River, as if ſome of his Ships might want Water in the Engagement. In this deliberation the Wind aroſe again, but from another Quarter, which was directly in the Prince's face; and would not ſuffer him to move towards the Enemy, but drove him back, and would carry him out of the River. Hereupon were new conſultations; great want of Proviſions was diſcover'd to be in the Fleet, inſomuch as that they ſhould not be able to ſtay at Sea above ten days, and many Ships would want ſooner, and therefore ſince the Earl of *Warwick*, as the Wind ſtood, could not be compell'd to Fight, and they were in danger to be diſtreſſed for Proviſions, it was thought moſt Counſelable to put to Sea; where they could more commodiouſly engage in a Battle, if the Earl of *Warwick* would advance; and if he did not, there was great reaſon to hope, that the Prince might meet with thoſe Ships which were coming from *Portſmouth* to joyn with the Earl, and which might eaſily be ſurpriſed or taken by the Prince's Fleet; which was much ſuperior to them in ſtrength.

The Prince went to Sea towards Holland, *after having attempted to fight the Earl of* Warwick.

The Earl of Warwick *follows him towards* Holland.

At this time the Earl of *Lautherdale* arriv'd in a Ship from *Scotland*; and having left Duke *Hamilton* upon his march towards *Berwick*, he was ſent to demand the performance o the Treaty, and that the Prince would immediately repair to that Army. This confirm'd the Prince in the purpoſe of putting out to Sea, ſince it was abſolutely neceſſary to carry the Fleet firſt into *Holland*, before it could tranſport him into the Northern parts. So the whole Fleet went to Sea, and continued their courſe for *Holland*, with hope ſtill to meet with thoſe Ships which were coming from *Portſmouth*. And mee with them they did in the Night; which the Prince knew no till the Morning; when one put the fault upon another; and it was now neceſſary to make all poſſible haſt to *Holland* ſince by the conjunction with theſe Ships, beſides all othe Advantages, the Earl of *Warwick* was now become ſuperior in the number, as well as the ſtrength and goodneſs of his Ships which appear'd by his coming before *Helvoet Sluce*, within few days after the Prince's arrival there.

Duke Hamilton *enters* England *about the middle of* July.

The Duke's march.

It was near the middle of *July*, when Duke *Hamilton* enter'd into *England* with his Army, when he came to *Carliſle* and immediately took that Government from Sr *Philip Muſgrave*, and drew out all the *Engliſh* Garriſon, and put *Scots* in their place. And after ſome few days ſtay there, the *Engliſ* and *Scotiſh* Forces met at a Rendezvous, in the way to tha part of *Cumberland* where *Lambert* then Quarter'd: and i they had continued their March, as they ought to have done it is very probable they had broken that Body of *Lambert's*. But the Duke would Quarter that Night two Miles ſhort; and *Lambert*, in the ſame Night, marched from thence in great diſorder and confuſion to the edge of *York ſhire*. The Duke reſted many days, that all his Forces might come up, which came ſlowly out of *Scotland*. Aſſoon as they were come up, he marched to *Kendal*; where he reſted again ſeveral days; the reaſon whereof no body could imagine. It was ſuſpected it was that thoſe Forces which were up in ſeveral parts of the Kingdom, for the King, might undergo ſome defeat, that they might not be ſo united, as to controle or obſtruct the Presbyterian deſign. For after that Army was enter'd into *England*, it moved, as hath been ſaid, by ſuch very ſlow Marches, and ſo negligently, and with ſo little apprehenſion of an Enemy, and it was Quarter'd at ſo great a diſtance, that the head Quarter was very often twenty Miles diſtant from ſome part of the Army; the Duke himſelf performing no part of the office of a General, but taking his eaſe, and being wholely govern'd by the Lieutenant General of the Army, and two or three other Officers.

SIR *Marmaduke Langdale* marched, with his Body of *Engliſh*, conſiſting of near four thouſand Foot, and ſeven or eight hundred Horſe, always a day before the Army; by which they intended to have timely Advertiſement of the Enemies motion, and likewiſe meant that he ſhould bear the firſt brunt of them, deſiring to weaken him by all the ways they could. They had not marched many days, it being now near the middle of *Auguſt*, when Sr *Marmaduke Langdale* Advertiſed the Duke, by an Expreſs, "that he had receiv'd unqueſtionable " Intelligence that *Cromwell* was within two or three days " march, and reſolv'd to engage his Army aſſoon as poſſibly he " could, and that he would not be diverted from it, by the " People's gathering together at any diſtance from him, in " what poſture ſoever; and therefore deſired his Grace, "that " he would keep his Army cloſe together; for they could not " be far aſunder with any ſecurity; and declared; "that he " himſelf would reſt, and wait the advance of the Enemy, " and then retire back as he ſhould find it neceſſary.

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THE Duke, notwithſtanding this Advertiſement, reformed not the Order of his March in any degree, but was perſwaded "that the Enemy could not be ſo near; and that, if " *Cromwell* was advanced to ſuch a diſtance, it was only with " ſuch a Party, as he would not preſume to engage with their " whole Army. In this confidence, he marched as he had done before. Sr *Marmaduke* ſent him every day advice that confirm'd the former, "and that his Horſe had encounter'd " ſome of the Enemy, and that their whole Body was at hand;

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"but that it was true, it was not a Body equal in number to "their Army, yet all that *Cromwell* expected was to joyn Battle with him. All this gain'd not credit, till Sr *Marmaduke* himſelf, making his retreat with very ſharp Skirmiſhes, in which many Men fell on both ſides, was purſued into the head Quarters of the Duke; whither he likewiſe brought with him ſome Priſoners, who averr'd, that the whole Body of the Army was within five or ſix Miles, and marched as faſt as they were able.

THE Duke was confounded with the Intelligence, and knew not what to do: the Army was not together; and that part that was about him, was without any order, and made no ſhew of any purpoſe to Fight. In this Amazement, the Duke ſtayed himſelf with ſome Officers at *Preſton*; and cauſed his Foot to be drawn over a Bridge, that they might march towards *Wiggan*, a Town in *Lancaſhire*, where he ſhould, as he thought, find ſome Regiments, and where they might make ſome ſtand till the reſt ſhould come up. In the mean time Sr *Marmaduke Langdale* return'd to his Troops, the Duke having promiſed to ſend him ſome Troops to aſſiſt, and that ſome Foot ſhould be ſent to keep a Lane, that would Flank his Men upon his retreat. Sr *Marmaduke* retired before the Enemy, and drew up his Troops into the Cloſes near *Preſton*. The Enemy followed him cloſe, and preſſed him very hard; notwithſtanding which he maintain'd the diſpute for above ſix hours with great Courage, and with very great loſs to the Enemy in Officers, and Common Soldiers; inſomuch as they ſeem'd to retire, at leaſt to make a ſtand. And in all this time the *Scots* ſent him no Aſſiſtance, but concluded that it was not *Cromwell*'s whole Army that aſſaulted him, but only ſome Party, which he would himſelf be well enough able to diſengage himſelf from. And Sr *Marmaduke Langdale* told me often afterwards, "that he verily believ'd, if one thouſand Foot "had then been ſent to him, he ſhould have gained the day: and *Cromwell* himſelf acknowledged, that he never ſaw Foot Fight ſo deſperately as They did.

M.Lang-
ale *Fights*,
nd is
eaten; *and*
Duke Ha-
milton
ured.

THE *Scots* continued their march over the Bridge, without taking care to ſecure the Lane, which he had recommended to them; by which *Cromwell*'s Horſe came upon his Flank, whilſt he was equally preſſed in the Van. So that his excellent Body of Foot being broken, Sr *Marmaduke*, and ſuch of His Horſe as kept together, were driven into the Town; where the Duke remain'd yet with ſome Officers; who all retreated over a Ford to the Foot, who were in equal diſorder. For aſſoon as the *Engliſh* Forces were broken, the *Scots* were preſently beaten from the Bridge, and forced to a very diſorderly march. However, the Duke had ſtill a great part of his own

Army together; with which he continued to march two or three days to *Wiggan*; thence, to *Warrington*; where *Baily* Capitulated, and deliver'd up all the Foot; thence to *Nantwich*, and at laſt to *Uxeter*; and in all that time many of the *Scotiſh* Noblemen forſook him, and render'd themſelves Priſoners to the Gentlemen of the Country; and *Cromwell's* Troops under *Lambert*, preſſed ſo hard upon the Rear, that they killed, and took as many Priſoners as they pleaſed, without hazarding their own Men. The Duke was ſcarce got into *Uxeter*, when his Troops, which made no reſiſtance, were beaten in upon him, and ſo cloſe purſued by *Cromwell's* Horſe under *Lambert*, that himſelf and all the principal Officers (ſome few excepted, who, lying concealed, or by the benefit of the ſwiftneſs of their Horſes, made their eſcape) were taken Priſoners: the Duke neither behaving himſelf like a General, nor with that Courage which he was before never thought to want; but making all ſubmiſſion, and all excuſes to thoſe who took him.

The Du taken.

THUS his whole Army was Routed, and Defeated; more killed out of contempt, than that they deſerv'd it by any oppoſition; the reſt taken Priſoners, all their Cannon and Baggage taken, and their Colours; only ſome of their Horſe, which had been Quarter'd moſt backward, made haſt to carry news to their Country of the ill ſucceſs of their Armes. They who did not take the way for *Scotland*, were for the moſt part taken by the activity of the Country, or the Horſe that purſued them; whereof Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*, after he had made his way with ſome of his Officers and Soldiers, who ſtood with him till they found it ſafeſt to diſperſe themſelves, had the ill Fortune to be diſcover'd; and was ſo taken Priſoner, and ſent to the Caſtle of *Nottingham*. All this great Victory was got by *Cromwell* with an Army amounting to a third part of the *Scots* in Number, if they had been all together; and it was not diminiſhed half a hundred in obtaining this Victory, after the *Engliſh* Forces under *Langdale* had been defeated.

Sr M. L dale ts

IT may be proper now to mention, that the Lord *Cottington*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had many miſadventures; which detain'd them from attending upon the Prince in the Fleet. Aſſoon as they heard that his Highneſs had put himſelf on board a Ship at *Calais* to find the Fleet in *Holland*, they embarked at *Diepe*, in a *French* Man of War that was bound for *Dunkirk*; where when they arriv'd, they found a Gentleman, a Servant of the Prince's, who inform'd them, "that the Prince was with the whole Fleet in the *Downs*, "and that he had ſent him with a Letter to the Mareſhal *Ranzaw*, who was Governour of *Dunkirk*, to borrow a Frigat

"or

"of him; which he had there, and had by ſome civil Meſſage offer'd to lend to his Highneſs; and the Marſhal, who receiv'd them with great civility, aſſured them that the Frigat ſhould be ready the next day, and if they pleaſed to make uſe of it, ſhould carry them to the Prince.

THEY look'd upon it as a good opportunity, which would deliver them much ſooner at the Fleet, than they had before expected to be; and ſo, without weighing the Dangers which might accompany it, and might very naturally have been foreſeen, they embraced the occaſion; there being no hazard which they apprehended at Sea, but that they might be taken by the Parliament Ships; which, by the Prince's being with his Fleet in the *Downs*, and ſo being Maſter at Sea, was hardly poſſible. So they unwarily put themſelves into that Frigat, and ſet Sail in the Evening from *Dunkirk*; preſuming that they ſhould, the next Morning, find themſelves in the *Downs* with the Prince. But there was ſo dead a calm that Night, that they made very little way; and, the next Morning, they found that they were chaſed by ſix or ſeven Frigats of *Oſtend*. In ſhort, they were taken Priſoners, and plunder'd of all they had (which amounted to good value in Jewels and Money) and were carried into *Oſtend*, where, though they were preſently at liberty, they were compell'd to ſtay many days, not without ſome hope, raiſed by the civility of the *Spaniſh* Governour, and the Lords of the Admiralty there, who very liberally promiſed an entire reſtitution of all that they had loſt. But that being without any effect, that brutiſh People, the Free-booters, being ſubject to no Government, they found means to give notice to the Prince of all that happen'd, and that they would attend his Command at *Fluſhing*; whither they eaſily went. Within few days after, the Prince, out of the *Downs*, ſent a Frigat for them to *Fluſhing*; where they embarked ſeveral times, and were at Sea the whole Night, and in the Morning driven back by high Winds, ſometimes into *Fluſhing*, ſometimes to *Ramikins*; and ſo were compelled to go to *Middleborough*, and after a Months ſtay in thoſe places, and many attempts to get to Sea, they receiv'd Order from the Prince to attend him in *Holland*, whither he had reſolv'd to go, aſſoon as the Earl of *Lautherdale* arriv'd from *Scotland* in the Fleet, and had deliver'd his imperious invitation for the Prince's immediate repair to the *Scotiſh* Army; which was then enter'd into *England*. By this means they came not to the Prince, till the next day after he came to the *Hague*, having left the Fleet before *Goree* and near *Helvoet Sluce*.

Prince
s to the
gue.

THE Prince was receiv'd by the States with all outward reſpect, and treated by them for four or five days at their charge; his Royal Highneſs every Night lodging in the Palace, which belonged to the States too, where the Prince of *Orange* and the Princeſs lay, and where both his Royal Highneſs and the Duke of *York* had very good apartments; the Prince and Duke, after two or three days, always eating with the Princeſs Royal, the Prince of *Orange* himſelf keeping his own Table open, according to cuſtom, for the reſort of ſuch of the States, or Officers of the Army, or other Noble Perſons, who frequently repaired thither.

Diviſions among the Prince of Wales's Court.

THE Prince of *Wales*'s Court was full of Faction, and Animoſity againſt each other, ſo that the new comers were not only very well receiv'd by the Prince, but very welcome to every Body, who being angry with the other Counſellors there, believ'd that matters would be better carried now they were come. They had not been an hour in the *Hague*, when *Herbert* the Atturney General came to them, and congratulated their Arrival, and told them "how much they had been "wanted, and how much Prince *Rupert* longed for their Com-"pany. And within a very ſhort time after, Prince *Rupert* himſelf came to bid them welcome, with all poſſible grace, and profeſſion of great kindneſs and eſteem for them. They both inveighed bitterly againſt the whole adminiſtration of the Fleet, in which moſt part of the Court, which had been preſent, and who agreed in nothing elſe, concurr'd with them.

THE whole clamour was againſt the Lord *Colepepper*, and Sr *Robert Long* the Prince's Secretary, who, by the Queen's injunction, was wholely ſubſervient to the Lord *Colepepper*. They accuſed them of corruption, not only with reference to the Cloath Ship, but to the releaſe of very many other Ships, which they had diſcharged upon no other reaſon, but as it would be a very Popular thing, and make the Prince grateful to the City of *London*. Though there was much diſcourſe of Money brought to both their Cabins by Mr *Lowe*, yet there was never any proof made of any corruption in the Lord *Colepepper*, who was not indeed to be wrought upon that way; but, having ſome infirmities, and a multitude of Enemies, he was never abſolv'd from any thing of which any Man accuſed him; and the other was ſo notoriouſly inclined to that way of Husbandry, that he was always thought guilty of more than he was charged with. It was true enough that great Riches were parted with, and had been releaſed for little or no Money; which being now exceedingly wanted, made it eaſily believ'd that ſuch unthrifty Counſel could not have been given, except by thoſe who were well rewarded for it; which ſtill fell upon thoſe two.

THERE was a general murmur that the Fleet had lain ſo long idle at the mouth of the River, when it had been propoſed that it might go to the Iſle of *Wight*, where they might, in the conſternation the whole Kingdom was then in, probably have been able to have releaſed the King; *Cariſbrooke* being near the Sea, a Caſtle not ſtrong in it ſelf, the Iſland well affected, and at that time under no ſuch power as could ſubdue them. And why ſuch an attempt, which, if unſucceſsful, could have been attended with no damage conſiderable, was not made, was never fully Anſwer'd.

THEY were very angry with *Batten*, and would have it Treachery in him, that the two Fleets did not Fight with each other, when they were ſo near engaging in the River; which, they ſaid, they might well have done before the Wind changed, if he had not diſſwaded the Prince; and in this the clamour of the Sea-men joyn'd with them. But it was but clamour, for moſt diſpaſſionate Men gave him a good Teſtimony in that affair, and that he behaved himſelf like a skilful Officer, and was very forward to Fight whilſt there was reaſon to effect it. The other reproach upon him of paſſing by the Ships which came from *Portſmouth*, in the Night, was not ſo well Anſwer'd: for it was known, though he ſaid that they were paſſed by, and out of reach before he was inform'd of them, that he had notice time enough to have engaged them, and did decline it; which might reaſonably enough have been done, out of apprehenſion, beſides the inconvenience of a Night Engagement, that the noiſe of the conflict might have called the Earl of *Warwick* out of the River to their Aſſiſtance, before they could have maſter'd them; there being two or three of the beſt Ships of the Royal Navy, which would have made a very notable reſiſtance. But this being never urged by himſelf, and what would have been too much for him to have taken upon himſelf, it was imputed to his Cowardize, of which the Sea-men, as well as the Courtiers, accuſed him; though, as was generally thought, without reaſon, and only with prejudice to the Man for what he had done before, and becauſe he was a Man of a regular and orderly courſe of Life, and Command, and of very few words, and leſs paſſion than at that time raiſed Men to reputation in that Province. There was only one Man in the Council of whom no body ſpoke ill, nor laid any thing to his Charge; and that was the Lord *Hopton*. But there was then ſuch a combination, by the countenance of Prince *Rupert*, with all the other Lords of the Court, and the Atturney General, upon former grudges, to undervalue him, that they had drawn the Prince himſelf to have a leſs eſteem of him than his ſingular Virtue, and Fidelity, and his unqueſtionable Courage, and Induſtry (all which his Enemies could not deny that he excelled in) did deſerve.

THIS State the Court was in, when the two lately mention'd Counſellors came; who quickly diſcern'd, by the unſteady humours, and ſtrong paſſions all Men were poſſeſſed with, that they ſhould not preſerve the Reputation they ſeem'd to have with every Body for the preſent, any long time, and foreſaw that neceſſity would preſently break in upon them like an Arm'd Man, that would diſturb and diſtract all their Counſels. And there was, even at the inſtant in which they arriv'd at the *Hague*, the fatal Advertiſement of that Defeat of the *Scotiſh* Army, which muſt break all their meaſures, and render the condition of the Prince, and of the whole Kingdom, very deplorable, and leave that of the King his Father in the utmoſt deſpair.

THE Rumour of this Defeat came to the *Hague* the next day after the Prince came thither, but not ſo particularly that the extent of it was known, or the Tragical effects yet throughly underſtood. And his Highneſs appointing his Council to meet together the next Morning after the Lord *Cottington* and the Chancellor of the Exchequer came thither, he inform'd them of the Lord *Lautherdale*'s Meſſage to him from the Parliament of *Scotland*, and that he very earneſtly preſſed him, ever ſince the News of the Defeat, that he would forthwith repair to their Army; and his Highneſs thought fit, that the Earl ſhould give an Account of his Commiſſion at the Board; whereupon he was ſent for in; and, that all reſpect might be ſhew'd to the Parliament of *Scotland*, he had a Chair allow'd him to ſit upon.

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ment of
Scotland
the Prince

HE firſt read his Commiſſion from the Parliament, and then the Letter which the Parliament had writ to the Prince; in which, having at large magnified the great Affection of the Parliament, “that out of their native, and conſtant Af“fection and Duty to their King, and finding that, contrary “to the Duty of Subjects, his Majeſty was impriſon'd by the “Traiterous and Rebellious Army in *England*, they had “raiſed an Army in that Kingdom, that, ſince their Advice, “Counſel, and Entreaty in an amicable way, could not pre“vail, might by force redeem his Majeſty's Perſon from that “captivity; which they held themſelves obliged by their ſo“lemn League and Covenant to endeavour to do, with the “hazard of their Lives and Fortunes: That this Army was “already enter'd into *England*, under the Command of *James* “Duke *Hamilton*, whom, in reſpect of his known and emi“nent fidelity to his Majeſty, they had made General thereof; “and having now done all that was in their power to do for “the preſent, and having taken due care for the ſeaſonable “ſupply and recruit of that Army, they now ſent to his High“neſs, that he would with all poſſible ſpeed, according to “the promiſe which the King his Father had made, tranſport “his Royal Perſon, that he might himſelf be in the head of “that Army to obtain the Liberty of his Father; and they deſired him, “that for the circumſtances of his Journey he “would be adviſed by the Earl of *Lautherdale*, to whom they “had given full Inſtructions; and they beſought his Highneſs “to give credit to him in all things.

THE Earl likewiſe ſhew'd his Inſtructions, by which none of the Prince's Chaplains were to be admitted to attend him, and great care to be taken, that none but *Godly* Men ſhould be ſuffer'd to be about the Perſon of his Highneſs; and particularly that neither Prince *Rupert*, nor the Chancellor of the Exchequer, nor ſome other Perſons ſhould be admitted to go with the Prince. And after all theſe things were read and enlarged upon, he preſſed the Prince, with all imaginable inſtance, and without taking notice of any thing that was befallen their Army in *England*, of which he could not but have had particular relation, that he would loſe no time from entring upon his Journey; and all this with as inſolent, and ſupercilious behaviour, as if their Army had been triumphant.

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the Prin-
's Council
out it.

WHEN he had ſaid all he meant to ſay, he ſate ſtill, as if he expected to hear what the Prince or any Body elſe would ſay to what he propoſed. It was then moved, “that, if he “had no more to ſay, he would withdraw, to the end that “the Council might Debate the matter, before they gave “their Advice to the Prince. He took this motion vey ill, and ſaid “he was a Privy Counſellor to the King in *Scotland*, “and being likewiſe a Commiſſioner from the Parliament, “he ought not to be excluded from any Debate that con“cern'd the Affair upon which he was imployed. This he urged in ſo imperious, and offenſive a manner, that drew on much ſharpneſs; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who knew him very well ſince the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, where they had often differ'd in matters of the higheſt importance, treated him with the ſame liberty they had then been accuſtom'd to. He told him, “he meant not to ſay any thing “in that Debate, when he ſhould be withdrawn, that he de“ſired ſhould be concealed from him, or unheard by him; “and that he was ready to ſay, that in his judgement, all “he had propoſed was very unreaſonable; but he would not “that the Dignity of the Board ſhould be proſtituted to his “Demand, nor that he ſhould be preſent there at any Debate. The Earl replied, “that he was ſent by the Parliament, and “Kingdom of *Scotland*, to the Prince of *Wales*, and that he “did proteſt againſt having any thing he propoſed to be “treated, and debated by, or before the *Engliſh* Board; nor “did he conſider what was, or ſhould be ſaid, by any Man "but the Prince himſelf. The Prince told him, "it was ne-"ceſſary that he himſelf ſhould hear, and know what the "opinion of the Council ſhould be; and that it was as un-"reaſonable that He ſhould be preſent; and thereupon Commanded him to withdraw; which he preſently ſubmitted to with indecency enough. The Prince then told them, "that "there were ſome Perſons come to the Town, the laſt night, "who came out of ***England*** after the News of the Victory "over the ***Scots*** came to ***London***, with all the circumſtances "thereof; and of the Duke's being taken Priſoner; and that the Prince of ***Orange*** had told him, "that the States had re-"ceiv'd Intelligence of it from their Embaſſadour ***Newport***, "who reſided in ***London***. Upon the whole matter, the Prince reſolv'd "to meet again the next Morning to Conſult farther "what he was to do, and that probably, in the mean time, "the Intelligence would be more perfect, and unqueſtionable, "and they ſhould ſee whether ***Lautherdale*** would take any "notice of it.

BUT the Night made no alteration in him; he appeared the next Morning with the ſame confidence, and the ſame importunity for the Prince to remove, and begin his Journey. He was asked, "whether he had receiv'd no Information of "ſome ill Fortune, that had befallen that Army, which might "ſo change the caſe ſince he left ***Scotland***, that what might "Then have been fit, would be Now unfit and uncounſel-"able? The Earl ſaid, "he knew well what the News was "from ***England***; and whatever he hoped, that he was not con-"fident it was not true; however he hoped, that would not "change the Prince's purpoſe, but that it would more con-"cern him to purſue the reſolution he was formerly obliged "to; that if any misfortune had befallen that Army, the Prince "had the more reaſon to endeavour to repair it; which could "be done no other way, than by his making all poſſible haſt "into ***Scotland***; which remain'd ſtill a Kingdom entire, whole-"ly devoted to his Service; and that, by the benefit of his "preſence, might quickly draw together another Army, to-"wards which there was a good beginning already by the pre-"ſervation of that Body under ***Monroe***: That if his Highneſs "ſhould decline this only probable way to preſerve Himſelf, "and to recover his other two Kingdoms, it would be thought "he had little zeal for the Liberty of his Father, and as little "for his own Intereſt, and for the preſervation of the Crown; "he therefore beſought his Highneſs, that he would cauſe "ſome of his Ships to be forthwith made ready, and would "therein immediately Tranſport himſelf into ***Scotland***; where-"by the late wound would, in a ſhort time, be healed; which "would otherwiſe prove incurable.

BUT *Scotland* was ſo well known, and the power of *Argyle* (which muſt be now greater than ever by the total defeat of the contrary Party) that his Propoſition was by all diſpaſſionate Men thought to be very extravagant, and not to be hearken'd to: and the News from ***London***, that *Cromwell* was marched into *Scotland* with his whole Army, confirm'd every honeſt Man in that opinion. And within few days the Earl of ***Lautherdale*** ſeem'd rather to think of going thither himſelf, where his own Concernments were in great danger, than of preſſing the Prince to ſo hazardous a Voyage; and after a few Weeks more ſtay at the ***Hague***, upon the Intelligence from his Friends in ***Scotland***, how Affairs went there, he return'd thither in the ſame Ship that Tranſported him from thence, with as much Rage and Malice againſt the Council about the Prince, as againſt ***Cromwell*** himſelf.

The Earl of **Lautherdale** *returns into* **Scotland.**

THE Defeat of the *Scotiſh* Army at ***Preſton***, though it was not at firſt believ'd to be an entire Victory over their whole Body, there being double that number that was not there or that marched from thence, broke or diſappointed moſt of the deſigns which were on foot for raiſing Men, in thoſe Northern Counties, for the King's Service, to have joyn'd and united under Sr ***Marmaduke Langdale***. Sr ***Thomas Tildeſley***, a Gentleman of a fair Eſtate, who had ſerv'd the King from the beginning of the War with good Courage, was then with a Body of ***Engliſh***, with which he had Beſieged the Caſtle of ***Lancaſter***, and was upon the point of Reducing it, when the News of ***Preſton*** arriv'd. It was then neceſſary to quit that deſign; and hearing that Major General ***Monroe***, who, ſhortly after the Duke marched out of ***Scotland***, followed him with a Recruit of above ſix thouſand Horſe and Foot, was come to the skirts of ***Lancaſhire***, he retired thither to him, having gather'd up many of Sr ***Marmaduke Langdale***'s Men, who had been broken at ***Preſton***, and ſome others who had been newly Levied. Sr ***Thomas Tildeſley*** moved ***Monroe***, "that his Forces, "and ſome Regiments of ***Scots***, who yet remain'd about ***Kendal***, might joyn with the ***Engliſh*** under his Command, and "march together towards ***Preſton***, and follow ***Cromwell*** in the "Rear, as He purſued the ***Scots***: which they might very well have done, being a Body, when in conjunction, of above eight thouſand Men; which was equal in number to the Army under *Cromwell*. But the Major General would not conſent to the Motion, but retired to the farther part of ***Weſtmoreland***; and the ***Engliſh*** followed them in the Rear; preſuming, that though they would not be perſwaded to advance after ***Cromwell***, yet that they would chooſe ſome other more convenient Poſt to make a ſtand in, if the Enemy follow'd them; and then that they would be glad to joyn with them

Sir **Tho. Tildeſley** *retires to* **Monroe.**

to which he was preſſed again the next day, but continued ſtill faſt in his Sullen Reſolution, without declaring what he meant to do; and retired through *Cumberland*, where he had left a ſad remembrance of his having paſſed that way a few days before, having then raiſed vaſt Sums of Money upon the poor People, and now in his retreat plunder'd almoſt all they had left.

Monroe *having enter'd* England *upon* Hamilton's *Defeat retreats towards* Scotland.

THE *Engliſh* marched into the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, to joyn with ſuch new Levies as were then raiſing there; and their number being encreaſed by the addition of thoſe Troops which were under the Command of Sr *Henry Bellingham*, they met again Major General *Monroe* in *Northumberland*, and deſired him “that they might unite together againſt the “Common Enemy, who equally deſired the deſtruction of “them both. But he reſolutely refuſed, and told them plainly, “that he would march directly into *Scotland* and expect Or-“ders there; which he did, with all poſſible Expedition.

Sir Philip Muſgrave *to* Carliſle.

SIR *Philip Muſgrave* believ'd that he and his Foot might be welcome to *Carliſle*; and went thither; and ſent Sr *Henry Bellingham*, Sr *Robert Strickland*, and Colonel *Charter*, to the Earl of *Lanrick*, and offer'd that they ſhould carry their Troops into *Scotland* to joyn with him; who he knew well would ſtand in need of help. But he durſt not accept their Motion, ſaying, “if he ſhould, *Argyle* would from thence take an ex-“cuſe to invite *Cromwell*; who they heard was then upon his march towards *Berwick*, to bring his Army into *Scotland*: upon which Sr *Henry Bellingham* return'd with the Party he Commanded into *Cumberland*, paying for all they had through that part of *Scotland* it was neceſſary for them to paſs through.

SIR *Philip Muſgrave* had no better ſucceſs with Sr *William Levingſton*, the Governour of *Carliſle*; for though he receiv'd him very Civilly, and enter'd into a Treaty with him (for he knew well enough that he was not able to Victual, or Defend the place without the aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh*, and therefore deſired the aſſiſtance of Sr *Philip* in both) yet when Articles were agreed upon, and ſign'd by Sr *Philip Muſgrave*, the Governour fell back, and refuſed to engage himſelf “not to “deliver up the Garriſon without the conſent of Sr *Philip* “*Muſgrave*; who was contented that none of his Men ſhould come within the Walls, until it ſhould be moſt apparent, that they could no longer keep the Field.

Berwick *and* Carliſle *deliver'd to the Parliament.*

WITHIN a ſhort time after, Orders were ſent out of *Scotland* for the delivery of *Berwick* and *Carliſle* to the Parliament; in which Orders there was not the leaſt mention of making Conditions for the *Engliſh*. Sr *Philip Muſgrave* had yet *Apleby* Caſtle in his own poſſeſſion, having taken it after he had deliver'd *Carliſle* to Duke *Hamilton*, and after he was marched from thence. By this good accident, upon the delivery of it up, which could not long have made any defence, he made Conditions for himſelf, and one hundred and fifty Officers, many of them Gentlemen of Quality, who liv'd again to venture, and ſome, to loſe their Lives for the King: after which, he ſoon Tranſported himſelf into *Holland*.

CROMWELL reſolv'd to loſe no advantage he had got, but aſſoon as he had perfected his Defeat of Duke *Hamilton*, by gathering up as many Priſoners, as he could, of the diſperſed Troops, he marched directly towards *Scotland*, to pull up the Roots there, from which any farther trouble might ſpring hereafter; though he was very earneſtly called upon from *York-ſhire* to reduce thoſe at *Pontfret* Caſtle; which grew very troubleſome to all their Neighbours; and, not ſatisfied with drawing Contributions from all the parts adjacent, they made Excurſions into places at a great diſtance, and took divers ſubſtantial Men Priſoners, and carried them to the Caſtle; where they remain'd till they redeem'd themſelves by great Ranſoms. However, he would not defer his Northern march; but believing that he ſhould be in a ſhort time capable to take Vengeance upon thoſe Affronts, he ſatisfied himſelf in ſending Colonel *Rainsborough*, with ſome Troops of Horſe and Foot, to reſtrain their adventures, and to keep them blocked up; and himſelf, with the reſt of his Army, continued their march for *Scotland*, it being about the end of *Auguſt*, or beginning of *September*, before the Harveſt of that Country was yet ripe; and ſo capable of being deſtroy'd.

Cromwell *marches into* **Scotland.**

IT was generally believ'd, that the Marquis of *Argyle* earneſtly invited him to this Progreſs; for the Defeat of the *Scotiſh* Army in *England* had not yet enough made him Maſter of *Scotland*. There was ſtill a Committee of Parliament ſitting at *Edenborough*, in which, and in the Council, the Earl of *Lanrick* ſway'd without a Rival; and the Troops which had been raiſed under *Monroe* for the Recruit of the Duke's Army, were ſtill together, and at the Earl's devotion; ſo that the Marquis was ſtill upon his good behaviour. If he did not invite *Cromwell*, he was very glad of his coming; and made all poſſible haſt to bid him welcome upon his entring into the Kingdom. They made great ſhews of being mutually glad to ſee each other, being linked together by many promiſes, and profeſſions, and by an entire conjunction in guilt.

THERE was no Act of Hoſtility committed; *Cromwell* declaring, "that he came with his Army to preſerve the Godly "Party, and to free the Kingdom from a force, which it was "under, of Malignant Men, who had forced the Nation to "break the Friendſhip with their Brethren of *England*, who "had been ſo faithful to them: That it having pleaſed God

“ to Defeat that Army under Duke *Hamilton*, who endeavour'd
“ to engage the two Nations in each others Blood, he was
“ come thither to prevent any farther miſchief, and to remove
“ thoſe from Authority who had uſed their Power there ſo ill;
“ and that he hoped he ſhould, in very few days, return with
“ an aſſurance of the Brotherly Affection of that Kingdom to
“ the Parliament of *England*; which did not deſire in any degree
“ to invade their Liberties, or infringe their Privileges.

He was Conducted to *Edenborough* by the Marquis of *Argyle*, where he was receiv'd with all ſolemnity, and the reſpect due to the Deliverer of their Country, and his Army Quarter'd about, and ſupplied with all Proviſions the Country could yield.

Is receiv'd at Edenborough.

THE Earl of *Lanrick*, and all the *Hamiltonian* Faction (that is all who had a mind to continue of it) were withdrawn, and out of reach; and they who remain'd at *Edenborough* were reſolv'd to obey *Argyle*; who they ſaw could protect them. There were then enough left of the Committee of Parliament to take care of the Safety and Good of the Kingdom, without putting *Cromwell* to help them by the Power of the *Engliſh*; which would have been a great diſcredit to their Government. Whilſt he remain'd their Gueſt (whom they entertain'd magnificently) *Argyle* thought himſelf able by the Laws of *Scotland*, to reform all that was amiſs, and preſerve the Government upon the true foundation. So the Committee of Parliament ſent to *Monroe* an Order and Command to Diſband his Troops; which when he ſeem'd reſolv'd not to do, he quickly diſcern'd that *Cromwell* muſt be Arbitrator; and thereupon he obſerv'd the Orders of the Committee very punctually: ſo that there was no Power in *Scotland* that could oppoſe the Command of *Argyle*; the Committee of Parliament, the Council, all the Magiſtrates of *Edenborough*, were at his devotion; and whoever were not ſo, were either in Priſon, or fled. The Pulpits were full of Invectives againſt the Sinfulneſs of the late Engagement, and ſolemn Faſts enjoyn'd by the Aſſembly to implore God's pardon and forgiveneſs for that heinous Tranſgreſſion; the Chancellor *Lowden* giving the good example, by making his Recantation and humble Submiſſion with many Tears. *Cromwell* had reaſon to believe that it would henceforward prove as peaceable a Kingdom as he could wiſh; and having thus concerted all things with his boſome Friend *Argyle* (who reſolv'd, aſſoon as he was withdrawn a diſtance from *Edenborough*, that he and his Army might not be thought to have an influence upon the Councils, to call the Parliament to confirm all he ſhould think fit to do) he return'd for *England*; where he thought his Preſence was like to be wanted.

The Committee of the Scotiſh *Parliament order* Monroe *to Diſband.*

Cromwell *returns for* England.

The Scotiſh Parliament, being called, condemn Duke Hamilton's Engagement.

The Committee of Parliament at *Edenborough* (who had Authority to Convene the Parliament when the Major part of them ſhould pleaſe; care being taken in the nomination of them, that they were ſuch as were thought moſt like to purſue the way they were enter'd into) ſent out their Summons to call the Parliament. They who appear'd, were of another mind from what they had been formerly, and with the ſame Paſſion and Zeal with which they had enter'd into the Engagement, they now declared it unlawful, and ungodly; and the Aſſembly joyning with them, they Excommunicated all who had the moſt eminent Parts in the promoting it; and made them incapable of bearing any Office in the State, or of ſitting in Council, or in Parliament; ſubjecting thoſe who had ſinned in a leſs degree, to ſuch penalties as would for ever make them ſubject to their Government. By theſe judgements, amongſt others, the Earl of *Lanrick* was depriv'd of being Secretary of State, and that Office was conferr'd upon the Earl of *Lothian*; who, in the beginning of the Rebellion, had been imploy'd by the Conſpirators into *France*, and coming afterwards into *England* was Impriſon'd thereupon, and being after ſet at liberty continued amongſt thoſe who, upon all occaſions, carried the Rebellion higheſt, and ſhewed the moſt implacable malice to the Perſon of the King. And by this time *Argyle* was become ſo much more Maſter of *Scotland* than *Cromwell* was of *England*, that he had not ſo much as the ſhadow of a Parliament to contend, or to comply with, or a neceſſity to exerciſe his known great Talent of diſſimulation, all Men doing as he enjoyn'd them, without asking the reaſon of his direction.

The Earl of Holland Riſes; goes to Kingſton:

To return to the State of the King's Affairs in *England*: when the Earl of *Norwich* and the Lord *Capel* with the *Kentiſh* and *Eſſex* Troops were incloſed in *Colcheſter*, their Friends could not reaſonably hope that the *Scotiſh* Army, which had ſo long deferr'd their March into *England*, contrary to their promiſe, wou'd, though they were now come in, march faſt enough to relieve *Colcheſter* before they ſhould be reduced by Famine. The Earl of *Holland* thought it neceſſary, ſince many who were in *Colcheſter*, had engaged themſelves upon His promiſes and Authority, now to begin his Enterpriſe; to which the youth and warmth of the Duke of *Buckingham* who was General of the Horſe, the Lord *Francis Villiers* his Brother, and divers other young Noblemen, ſpurr'd him on. And he might have the better opinion of his Intereſt and Party, in that his purpoſe of riſing, and putting himſelf into Armes for the relief of *Colcheſter*, was ſo far from being a ſecret, that it was the common diſcourſe of the Town. There was a great appearance every Morning, at his Lodging, of thoſe Officers who were known to have ſerv'd the King; his Commiſſions ſhew'd in many hands; no queſtion being more commonly asked, than "when doth my Lord *Holland* go out? and the Anſwer was, "ſuch and ſuch a day; and the hour he did take Horſe, when he was accompanied by an hundred Horſe from his Houſe, was publickly talked of two or three days before.

HIS firſt Rendezvous was at *Kingſton* upon *Thames*; where he ſtayed two Nights, and one whole Day, expecting a great reſort to him, not only of Officers, but of Common Men, who had promiſed, and liſted themſelves under ſeveral Officers; and he imputed the ſecurity he had enjoyed ſo long, notwithſtanding his purpoſe was ſo generally known, to the Apprehenſion both the Parliament and the Army had of the Affections of the City to joyn with him; and he believ'd, that he ſhould not only remain ſecure at *Kingſton*, as long as he ſhould think fit to ſtay there, but that ſome entire Regiments of the City would march out with him for the Relief of *Colcheſter*.

DURING the ſhort ſtay he made at *Kingſton*, ſome Officers and Soldiers, both of Horſe and Foot, came thither, and many Perſons of Honour and Quality, in their Coaches, came to viſit him and his Company from *London*; and return'd thither again to provide what was ſtill wanting, and reſolv'd to be with him ſoon enough. The principal Officer the Earl relied upon (though he had better) was *Dalbeer* a *Dutchman*, of name and reputation, and good experience in War; who had ſerv'd the Parliament as Commiſſary General of the Horſe under the Earl of *Eſſex*, and having been left out in the new model, was amongſt thoſe diſcontented Officers who looked for an opportunity to be revenged of the Army; which they deſpiſed for their ill breeding, and much preaching. Thus *Dalbeer* was glad to depend upon the Earl of *Holland*, who thought himſelf likewiſe happy in ſuch an Officer. The keeping good Guards, and ſending out Parties towards the *Kentiſh* parts, where it was known ſome Troops remain'd ſince the laſt Commotion there, was committed to his His care. But he diſcharged it ſo ill, or his Orders were ſo ill obſerv'd, that the ſecond or third Morning after their coming to *Kingſton*, ſome of the Parliament's Foot, with two or three Troops of Colonel *Rich*'s Horſe, fell upon a Party of the Earl's about *Nonſuch*; and beat, and purſued them into *Kingſton*, before thoſe within had notice to be ready to receive them; the Earl and moſt of the reſt making too much haſt out of Town, and never offering to Charge thoſe Troops. In this confuſion the Lord *Francis Villiers*, a youth of rare Beauty and comlineſs of Perſon, endeavouring to make reſiſtance, was unfortunately

Is routed there:

killed, with one or two more but of little note. Moſt of th Foot made a ſhift to conceal themſelves, and ſome Officers until they found means to retire to their cloſe Manſions i *London*. The Earl with near an hundred Horſe (the reſt wiſely taking the way to *London*, where they were never inquire after) wander'd without purpoſe, or deſign, and was, two o three days after, beſet in an Inn at St *Neots* in *Huntington-ſhire* by thoſe few Horſe who purſued him, being joyn'd wit ſome Troops of Colonel *Scroop*'s; where the Earl deliver' himſelf Priſoner to the Officer without reſiſtance: yet at th ſame time *Dalbeer* and *Kenelm Digby*, the eldeſt Son of Sr *Kenelm* were killed upon the place; whether out of former grudges or that they offer'd to defend themſelves, was not known and the Duke of *Buckingham* eſcaped, and happily found way into *London*; where he lay concealed, till he had an opportunity to ſecure himſelf by being Tranſported into *Holland* where the Prince was; who receiv'd him with great grac and kindneſs. The Earl of *Holland* remain'd Priſoner in th place where he was taken, till by Order from the Parliamen he was ſent to *Warwick* Caſtle, where he was kept Priſone with great ſtrictneſs.

Eſcapes to St Neots, where he is taken.

THE total defeat of the *Scotiſh* Army lately mention'd ſucceeded this, and when theſe Noble Perſons within *Colcheſter* were advertiſed of both, they knew well that there was n poſſibility of relief, nor could they ſubſiſt longer to expect i being preſſed with want of all kind of Victual, and havin eaten near all their Horſes. They ſent therefore to *Fairfax* to treat about the delivery of the Town upon reaſonable conditions, but he refuſed to treat, or give any conditions, they would not render to mercy all the Officers, and Gentlemen; the Common Soldiers he was contented to diſmiſs. A day or two was ſpent in deliberation. They within, propoſe “to make a brisk Sally; and thereby to ſhift for themſelve “as many as could. But they had too few Horſe, and the fe that were left uneaten were too weak for that Enterpriſ Then, “that they ſhould open a Port, and every Man di “with their Armes in their hands; but that way they coul only be ſure of being killed, without much hurting their Adverſaries, who had ways enough ſecurely to aſſault them Hereupon, they were in the end obliged to deliver themſelve up Priſoners at mercy; and were, all the Officers and Gentlemen, led into the publick Hall of the Town; where the were locked up, and a ſtrong Guard ſet upon them. The were required preſently to ſend a liſt of all their Names to th General; which they did; and, within a ſhort time after, Guard was ſent to bring Sr *Charles Lucas*, and Sr *George Liſl* and Sr *Bernard Gaſcoigne* to the General, being ſate with h

Colcheſter *deliver'd.*

Council of War. They were carried in, and in a very ſhort diſcourſe told, “ that after ſo long and ſo obſtinate a defence “ until they found it neceſſary to deliver themſelves up to “ mercy, it was neceſſary, for the example of others, and that “ the Peace of the Kingdom might be no more diſturbed in “ that manner, that ſome Military juſtice ſhould be executed; “ and therefore, that Council had determin'd they three ſhould “ be preſently ſhot to death; for which they were adviſed to prepare themſelves; and without conſidering, or hearing what they had a mind to ſay for themſelves, they were led into a Yard there by; where they found three Files of Muſqueteers ready for their diſpatch.

SIR *Bernard Gaſcoigne* was a Gentleman of *Florence*; and had ſerv'd the King in the War, and afterwards remain'd in *London* till the unhappy adventure of *Colcheſter*, and then accompanied his Friends thither; and had only *Engliſh* enough to make himſelf underſtood, that he deſired a Pen and Ink and Paper, that he might write a Letter to his Prince the Great Duke, that his Highneſs might know in what manner he loſt his Life, to the end his Heirs might poſſeſs his Eſtate. The Officer that attended the execution thought fit to acquaint the General and Council, without which he durſt not allow him Pen and Ink, which he thought he might reaſonably demand: When they were inform'd of it, they thought it a matter worthy ſome conſideration; they had choſen him out of the Liſt for his Quality, conceiving him to be an *Engliſh* Gentleman, and preferr'd him for being a Knight, that they might ſacrifice three of that Rank.

THIS delay brought the News of this bloody reſolution to the Priſoners in the Town; who were infinitely afflicted with it; and the Lord *Capel* prevailed with an Officer, or Soldier, of their Guard, to carry a Letter, ſign'd by the chief Perſons and Officers, and in the name of the reſt, to the General; in which they took notice of that judgement, and deſired him “ either to forbear the execution of it, or that they might all, “ who were equally guilty with thoſe three, undergo the ſame “ Sentence with Them. The Letter was deliver'd, but had no other effect than the ſending to the Officer to diſpatch his Order, reſerving the *Italian* to the laſt. Sr *Charles Lucas* was their firſt work; who fell dead; upon which Sr *George Liſle* ran to him, embraced him, and kiſſed him; and then ſtood up, and looked thoſe who were to execute him in the face; and thinking they ſtood at too great a diſtance, ſpake to them to come nearer; to which one of them ſaid, “ I'le warrant you, “ Sir, Wee'l hit you: he Anſwer'd ſmiling, “ Friends, I have “ been nearer you, when you have miſs'd me. Thereupon, they all fired upon him, and did their work home, ſo that he

Sr Ch. Lu cas *and* S George Liſle *ſhot* *death.*

fell down dead of many wounds without ſpeaking word. Sr *Bernard Gaſcoigne* had his Doublet off, and expected the next turn; but the Officer told him "he had order to carry him "back to his Friends; which at that time was very indifferent to him. The Council of War had conſider'd, that if they ſhould in this manner have taken the Life of a Forreigner, who ſeem'd to be a Perſon of Quality, their Friends or Children who ſhould viſit *Italy*, might pay dear for many Generations; and therefore they commanded the Officer, "when the other "two ſhould be dead, to carry him back again to the other "Priſoners.

heir Cha- acter.

THE two who were thus murther'd, were Men of great name and eſteem in the War; the one being held as good a Commander of Horſe, and the other of Foot, as the Nation had; but of very different tempers and humours. *Lucas* was the younger Brother of the Lord *Lucas*, and his Heir both to the Honour and Eſtate, and had a preſent Fortune of his own. He had been bred in the Low Countries under the Prince of *Orange*, and always amongſt the Horſe. He had little converſation in that Court, where great civility was practiced, and learned. He was very brave in his Perſon, and in a day of Battle a gallant Man to look upon, and follow; but at all other times and places, of a Nature ſcarce to be liv'd with, of no good underſtanding, of a rough and proud humour, and very moroſe converſation; yet they all deſired to accompany him in his death. *Liſle* was a Gentleman who had had the ſame Education with the other, and at the ſame time an Officer of Foot; had all the Courage of the other, and led his Men to a Battle with ſuch an Alacrity, that no Man was ever better followed; his Soldiers never forſaking him; and the party which he commanded, never left any thing undone which he led them upon. But then, to his fierceneſs of Courage he had the ſofteſt and moſt gentle nature imaginable; was kind to all, and belov'd of all, and without a Capacity to have an Enemy.

THE manner of taking the Lives of theſe worthy Men was new, and without Example, and concluded by moſt Men to be very barbarous; and was generally imputed to *Ireton*, who ſwayed the General, and was upon all occaſions of an unmerciful and bloody Nature. Aſſoon as this bloody Sacrifice was ended, *Fairfax*, with the Chief Officers, went to the Town-Houſe to viſit the Priſoners; and the General (who was an ill Orator on the moſt plauſible occaſion) applied with his civility to the Earl of *Norwich*, and the Lord *Capel*; and, ſeeming in ſome degree to excuſe the having done that, which he ſaid "the Military juſtice required, he told them, "that all "the Lives of the reſt were ſafe; and that they ſhould be well

“ treated, and diſpoſed of as the Parliament ſhould direct. The Lord *Capel* had not ſo ſoon digeſted this ſo late barbarous proceeding, as to receive the viſit of thoſe who cauſed it, with ſuch a return as his condition might have prompted to him; but ſaid, “ that they ſhould do well to finiſh their work, and “ execute the ſame rigour to the reſt; upon which there were two or three ſuch ſharp and bitter replies between Him and *Ireton*, that coſt him his Life in few Months after. When the General had given notice to the Parliament of his proceedings, he receiv'd order to ſend the Earl of *Norwich* and the Lord *Capel* to *Windſor* Caſtle; where they had afterwards the Society of Duke *Hamilton*, to lament each others misfortunes; and after ſome time they two were ſent to the Tower.

The behav- our of the City at thi time.

They Petiti for a perſo nal Treat

A Commi tee of Par liament treats wi them abou it.

THOUGH the City had undergone ſo many ſevere Mortifications, that it might very well have been diſcouraged from entring into any more dangerous Engagements, at leaſt all other People might have been terrified from depending again upon ſuch Engagements, yet the preſent fright was no ſooner over than they recover'd new ſpirits for new undertakings; and ſeem'd always to have obſerv'd ſomewhat in the laſt miſcarriage which might be hereafter prevented, and no more obſtruct their future proceedings; and many in the Parliament, as well as in the City, who were controlled and diſpirited by the preſence of the Army, when that was at a diſtance appear'd reſolute, and brisk in any contradiction and oppoſition of their Counſels. So that *Cromwell* had no ſooner begun his March towards the North, and *Fairfax* his into *Kent*, but the Common Council deliver'd a Petition to the Parliament, “ that “ they would entertain a Perſonal Treaty with the King, that “ the Kingdom might be reſtored again to a happy Peace; “ which could be hoped for no other way. This was the firſt preſumption that had been offer'd, ſince their Vote of no more Addreſſes to be made to the King; which had been near half a year before; and this ſeem'd to be made with ſo univerſal a concurrence of the City, that the Parliament durſt not give a poſitive refuſal to it. And in truth the Major part thereof did really deſire the ſame thing; which made Sr *Harry Vane*, and that Party in the Parliament to which the Army adher'd, or rather which adher'd to the Army, to contrive ſome ſpecious way to defer and delay it by ſeeming to conſent to it, rather than to oppoſe the motion. And therefore they appointed a Committee of the Houſe of Commons, to meet with ſuch a Committee of the Common Council, as they ſhould make choice of, to confer together of the ways and means to provide for the King's ſafety and ſecurity during the time of the Treaty: which Committee being met together, that of the Houſe of Commons perplexed the other with many

Queſtions, “what they meant by thoſe Expreſſions, they uſed “in their Petition (and had been the Common Expreſſions, long uſed both by the King and the Parliament, in all applications which had concern'd a Treaty) “that his Majeſty “might treat with honour, freedom, and ſafety? what they “intended by thoſe words? and whether the City would be “at the Charge in maintaining thoſe Guards, which were to “be kept for the ſecurity of the King during ſuch Treaty; “and if the King ſhould in that Treaty refuſe to give the Parliament ſatisfaction, how his Perſon ſhould be diſpoſed of? and many ſuch Queſtions, to which they well knew that the Committee it ſelf could make no Anſwer, but that there muſt be another Common Council called, to which they muſt repair for directions. And by this means, and adminiſtring new Queſtions at every meeting, much time was ſpent, and the delays they wiſhed could not be avoided. So that notwithſtanding all the City's earneſtneſs that the Treaty might be preſently enter'd upon, it was delayed till the Inſurrection in *Kent*, and the deſigns of the Earl of *Holland* (to both which they had promiſed another kind of Aſſiſtance) were both diſappointed, and expired. However, the Prince was ſtill in the *Downs* with his Fleet, and the Gentlemen in *Colcheſter* defended themſelves reſolutely, and the *Scotiſh* Army was enter'd the Kingdom, all which kept up their Courage; inſomuch as, after all the delays, the Parliament conſented, and declared, “that they would enter into a Perſonal Treaty with “the King for the ſettling the Peace of the Kingdom; but “that the Treaty ſhould be in the Iſle of *Wight*, where his “Majeſty ſhould enjoy honour, freedom, and ſafety.

The Parliament declares for a perſonal Treaty.

THE City had offer'd before to the Committee upon ſome of the Queſtions which had been adminiſter'd to them, “that “if the Treaty might be in *London*, they would be at the “Charge of maintaining thoſe Guards which ſhould be neceſſary for the ſafety and ſecurity of the King; and therefore they were very much troubled, that the Treaty ſhould be now in the Iſle of *Wight*, upon which they could have no influence; yet they thought not fit to make any new Inſtances for change of the place, leſt the Parliament might recede from their Vote, that there ſhould be a Treaty enter'd upon. So they only renew'd their importunity, that all expedition might be uſed; and in ſpight of all delays, in the beginning of *Auguſt* a Committee was ſent from both Houſes to the King to *Carisbrooke* Caſtle, where he had been cloſe ſhut up about half a year, without being ſuffer'd to ſpeak with any but ſuch who were appointed by them to attend, and watch him.

A Committee of both Houſes ſent to the King for that purpoſe in the beginning of Auguſt

The ſubſtance of their Meſſage to the King.

THE Meſſage the Committee deliver'd was, “that the “Houſes did deſire a Treaty with his Majeſty, in what place "of the Iſle of *Wight* he would appoint, upon the Propoſi-"tions tender'd to him at *Hampton* Court, and ſuch other Pro-"poſitions, as they ſhould cauſe to be preſented to him; and "that his Majeſty ſhould enjoy honour, freedom, and ſafety to "his Perſon. The Meſſengers, who were one of the Houſe of Peers and two Commoners, were to return within ten days, no body being very ſtrict in the limitation of time to a day, becauſe the Treaty was ſo much the longer kept off, which they hoped ſtill would by ſome accident be prevented.

The King receiv'd them very graciouſly, and told them, "they could not believe that any Man could deſire a Peace "more heartily than Himſelf, becauſe no Man ſuffer'd ſo much "by the want of it: that, though he was without any Man "to Conſult with, and without a Secretary to write what he "ſhould dictate, yet they ſhould not be put to ſtay long for "an Anſwer; which he gave them within two or three days, all written in his own hand; in which, after he had lamented his preſent Condition, and the extreme reſtraint he was under, he ſaid, "he did very chearfully embrace their motion, and "accepted a Treaty they promiſed ſhould be with Honour, "Freedom, and Safety; which he hoped they did really in-"tend ſhould be perform'd; for that, in the Condition he was "in, he was ſo totally ignorant, and uninform'd of the pre-"ſent State of all his Dominions, that a blind Man was as fit "to judge of Colours, as He was to treat concerning the "Peace of the Kingdom, except they would firſt revoke their "Votes, and Orders, by which all Men were prohibited, and "forbid to come, write, or ſpeak to him. For the place, "he could have wiſhed, for the expedition that would have "reſulted from thence, that it might have been in or near "*London*, to the end that the Parliament's reſolution and de-"termination might have been ſooner known upon any emer-"gent occaſion that might have grown in the Treaty, than it "could be at ſuch a diſtance: however, ſince they had re-"ſolv'd that it ſhould be in the Iſle of *Wight*, he would not "except againſt it, but named the Town of *Newport* for the "place of the Treaty. He ſaid, "though he deſired all ex-"pedition might be uſed towards the beginning and ending "the Treaty, yet he ſhould not think himſelf in any freedom "to Treat, except, before the Treaty begun, all ſuch Perſons "might have liberty to repair to him, whoſe advice and aſ-"ſiſtance he ſhould ſtand in need of in the Treaty. He ſent a Liſt of the Names of thoſe his Servants which he deſired might be admitted to come to him, and attend upon him; whereof the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hertford*, the Earls of *Southampton*, and *Lindſey*, were the chief; all four Gentlemen of his Bed-Chamber, and of his Privy Council.

The King's Anſwer.

He named likewiſe all the other Servants, whoſe attendance he deſired in their ſeveral Offices. He ſent a Liſt of the Names of ſeveral Biſhops, and of ſuch of his Chaplains, as he deſired to confer with, and of many Common Lawyers, and ſome Civilians, whoſe advice he might have occaſion to uſe, and deſired, “that he might be in the ſame State of “freedom, as he enjoyed whilſt he had been at *Hampton* “Court.

By the time that the Commiſſioners return'd from the Iſle of *Wight*, and deliver'd this Anſwer to the Parliament, news was brought of the Defeat of the *Scotiſh* Army, and *Cromwell* had written to his Friends, “what a perpetual Ignominy it “would be to the Parliament, that no body abroad or at “home would ever give Credit to them, if they ſhould recede “from their former Vote, and Declaration of no farther Ad“dreſſes to the King, and Conjured them to continue firm in “that Reſolution. But they had gone too far now to recede, and ſince the firſt Motion and Petition from the Common Council for a Treaty, very many Members, who had oppoſed the Vote and Declaration of no more Addreſſes, and from the time that had paſſed, had forborne ever to be preſent in the Parliament, upon the firſt mention of a Treaty, flocked again to the Houſe, and advanced that Overture; ſo that they were much ſuperior in Number to thoſe who endeavour'd firſt to obſtruct and delay, and now hoped abſolutely to fruſtrate all that had been propoſed towards a Treaty. And the great Victory which had been obtain'd againſt the *Scots*, and which they concluded muſt ſpeedily reduce *Colcheſter*, and put a quick period to all other attempts againſt the Parliament, made them more earneſt and ſollicitous for a Treaty; which was all the hope left to prevent that Confuſion they diſcern'd was the purpoſe of the Army to bring upon the Kingdom: And ſo with the more Vigour they preſſed “that ſatisfaction might be given to the King, in all that he “had propoſed in his Anſwer; and, notwithſtanding all oppoſition, it was declared, “that the Vote for no more Ad“dreſſes ſhould ſtand repealed: That the Treaty ſhould be at “*Newport*; and that his Majeſty ſhould be there in the ſame “freedom in which he was at *Hampton* Court; that the In“ſtructions to Colonel *Hammond*, by which the King had “been in that manner reſtrain'd, and all Perſons forbid from “going to him, ſhould be recalled; that all thoſe Perſons “who were named by the King, ſhould have free liberty to “repair to him, and to remain with him without being que“ſtion'd, or troubled. And having proceeded thus far, they nominated five Lords, and ten Commoners to be the Commiſſioners who ſhould Treat with the King, and who were enjoyn'd

The Vote of no more Addreſſes repealed; and the Treaty to be at Newport.

enjoyn'd to prepare all things to be in a readineſs for the Treaty with all poſſible expedition; but Sr *Harry Vane*, being one of thoſe Commiſſioners, uſed all his Arts to obſtruct and delay it, in hope that *Cromwell* would diſpatch his Affairs in *Scotland* time enough to return, and to uſe more effectual and powerful Arguments againſt it, than He was furniſh'd withal.

ALL theſe occurrences were very well known to *Cromwell*, and were the motives which perſwaded him to believe, that his preſence at the Parliament was ſo neceſſary to ſuppreſs the Presbyterians, who ceaſed not to vex him at any diſtance, that he would not be prevailed with to ſtay and finiſh that only work of difficulty that remain'd to be done, which was the reducing *Pontfret* Caſtle; but left *Lambert* to make an end of it, and to revenge the death of *Rainsborough*, who had loſt his Life by that Garriſon, with ſome circumſtances which deſerve to be remember'd; as in truth all that Adventure in the taking, and defending that place, ſhould be preſerv'd by a very particular relation, for the honour of all the Perſons who were engaged in it.

An accoun
of the takin
of Pontfre
Caſtle for
the King.

WHEN the firſt War had been brought to an end by the Reduction of all Places, and Perſons, which had held for the King, and all Men's hopes had been render'd deſperate, by the Impriſonment of his Majeſty in the Iſle of *Wight*, thoſe Officers and Gentlemen who had ſerv'd, whilſt there was any Service, betook themſelves generally to the habitations they had in the ſeveral Counties; where they liv'd quietly and privately, under the Inſolence of thoſe Neighbours who had formerly, by the inferiority of their Conditions, ſubmitted to them. When the Parliament had finiſhed the War, they reduced and ſlighted moſt of the Inland Garriſons, the Maintenance whereof was very Chargeable: yet by the Intereſt of ſome Perſon who Commanded it, or out of the conſideration of the ſtrength and importance of the place, they kept ſtill a Garriſon in *Pontfret* Caſtle, a Noble Royalty and Palace belonging to the Crown, and then part of the Queen's Joynture. The Situation in it ſelf was very ſtrong; no part whereof was Commanded by any other ground: the Houſe very large, with all Offices ſuitable to a Princely Seat, and though built very near the top of a Hill, ſo that it had the proſpect of a great part of the Weſt Riding of *York ſhire*, and of *Lincolnſhire*, and of *Nottingham-ſhire*, yet it was plentifully ſupplied with Water. Colonel *Cotterell*, the Governour of this Caſtle, exerciſed a very ſevere Juriſdiction over his Neighbours of thoſe parts; which were inhabited by many Gentlemen, and Soldiers, who had ſerv'd the King throughout the War, and who were known to retain their old Affections, though they liv'd quietly under the preſent Government. Upon the leaſt

Jealouſy or Humour, theſe Men were frequently ſent for, reproached, and ſometimes Impriſon'd by the Governour in this Garriſon; which did not render them the more devoted to him. When there appeared ſome hopes that the *Scots* would raiſe an Army for the Relief and Releaſe of the King, Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*, in his way for *Scotland*, had viſited and conferr'd with ſome of his old Friends and Country-men, who now liv'd quietly within ſome diſtance of *Pontfret*, who inform'd him of that Garriſon, the place whereof was well known to him. And he acquainting them with the Aſſurance he had of the Reſolution of the Principal Perſons of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and that they had invited him to joyn with them, in order to which he was then going thither, they agreed, "that, when it ſhould appear that an Army was raiſed "in *Scotland* upon that account, which muſt draw down the "Parliament's Army into the other Northern Counties, and "that there ſhould be Riſings in other parts of the Kingdom (which the general indiſpoſition and diſcontent, beſides ſome particular deſigns, made like to fall out) "that then thoſe "Gentlemen ſhould endeavour the ſurpriſe of that Caſtle, and "after they had made themſelves ſtrong in it, and furniſhed it "with Proviſions to endure ſome reſtraint, they ſhould draw "as good a Body to them as thoſe Countries would yield: And having thus adjuſted that deſign, they ſettled ſuch a way of Correſpondence with Sr *Marmaduke*, that they frequently gave him an account, and receiv'd his directions for their proceeding. In this diſpoſition they continued quiet, as they had always been; and the Governour of the Caſtle liv'd towards them with leſs Jealouſy, and more Humanity, than he had been accuſtom'd to.

THERE was one Colonel *Morrice*, who being a very young Man, had, in the beginning of the War, been an Officer in ſome Regiments of the King's; and out of the folly and impatience of his Youth, had quitted that Service, and engaged himſelf in the Parliament Army with ſome circumſtances not very commendable; and by the clearneſs of his Courage, and pleaſantneſs of his Humour, made himſelf not only very acceptable, but was preferr'd to the Command of a Colonel, and perform'd many notable Services for them, being a ſtout and bold Undertaker in Attempts of the greateſt Danger; wherein he had uſually Succeſs. After the new Modelling of the Army, and the introducing of a ſtricter diſcipline, his Life of great Licence kept not his Reputation with the new Officers; and being a free Speaker and Cenſurer of their affected behaviour, they left him out in their compounding their new Army, but with many profeſſions of kindneſs, and reſpect to his eminent Courage, which they would find ſome occaſion to Imploy, and Reward. He was a Gentleman of a competent Eſtate in thoſe parts in *York-ſhire*; and as he had grown Elder, he had heartily deteſted himſelf for having quitted the King's Service, and had reſolv'd to take ſome ſeaſonable opportunity to wipe off that blemiſh by a Service that would redeem him; and ſo was not troubled to be ſet aſide by the new General, but betook himſelf to his Eſtate; enjoy'd his old Humour, which was chearful and pleaſant; and made himſelf moſt acceptable to thoſe who were moſt truſted by the Parliament; who thought that they had diſmiſſed one of the beſt Officers they had, and were ſorry for it.

He now, as a Country Gentleman, frequented the Fairs and Markets, and converſed with equal freedom with all his Neighbours, of what Party ſoever they had been, and renewed the Friendſhip he had formerly held with ſome of thoſe Gentlemen who had ſerv'd the King. But no Friendſhip was ſo dear to him, as that of the Governour of *Pontfret* Caſtle, who lov'd him above all Men, and delighted ſo much in his Company, that he got him to be with him ſome times a week and more at a time in the Caſtle, when they always lay together in one Bed. He declared to one of thoſe Gentlemen, who were united together to make that Attempt, "that he "would ſurpriſe that Caſtle, whenever they ſhould think the "Seaſon ripe for it; and that Gentleman, who knew him very well, believ'd him ſo entirely, that he told his Companions, "that they ſhould not trouble themſelves with con-"triving the means to ſurpriſe the place; which, by truſting "too many, would be lyable to diſcovery; but that he would "take that Charge upon himſelf, by a way they need not "enquire into; which he aſſured them ſhould not fail: And they all very willingly acquieſced in his undertaking; to which they knew well he was not inclined without good grounds. *Morrice* was more frequently with the Governour, who never thought himſelf well without him; and always told him "he "muſt have a great care of his Garriſon, that he had none "but faithful Men in the Caſtle; for that he was confident "there were ſome Men who liv'd not far off, and who many "times came to viſit him, had ſome deſign upon the place; and would then in confidence name many Perſons to him, ſome whereof were thoſe very Men with whom he communicated, and others were Men of another Temper, and were moſt devoted to the Parliament, all his particular Friends and Companions; "but that he ſhould not be troubled; for he "had a falſe Brother amongſt them, from whom he was ſure "to have ſeaſonable Advertiſement; and promiſed him, "that "he would, within few hours notice, bring him at any time "forty or fifty good Men into the Caſtle to reinforce his Gar-

"riſon, when there ſhould be occaſion; and he would ſhew him the liſt of ſuch Men, as would be always ready, and would ſometimes bring ſome of thoſe Men with him, and tell the Governour before them, "that thoſe were in the liſt he "had given him of the honeſt fellows, who would ſtick to "him when there ſhould be need; and others would accidentally tell the Governour, "that they had liſted themſelves "with Colonel *Morrice* to come to the Caſtle, whenever he "ſhould call or ſend to them. And all theſe Men thus liſted, were fellows very notorious for the bitterneſs and malice which they had always againſt the King, not one of which he ever intended to make uſe of.

He made himſelf very familiar with all the Soldiers in the Caſtle, and uſed to play and drink with them; and when he lay there, would often riſe in the Night, and viſit the Guards; and by that means would ſometimes make the Governour diſmiſs, and diſcharge a Soldier whom he did not like, under pretence "that he found him always aſleep, or ſome other fault which was not to be examin'd; and then he would commend ſome other to him as very fit to be truſted and relied upon; and by this means he had very much power in the Garriſon. The Governour receiv'd ſeveral Letters from his Friends in the Parliament, and in the Country, "that he "ſhould take care of Colonel *Morrice*, who reſolv'd to betray "him; and inform'd him, "that he had been in ſuch and "ſuch Company of Men, who were generally eſteem'd moſt "Malignant, and had great Intrigues with them; all which was well known to the Governour; for the other was never in any of that Company, though with all the ſhew of ſecrecy, in the Night, or in places remote from any Houſe, but he always told the Governour of it, and of many particular paſſages in thoſe Meetings; ſo that when theſe Letters came to him, he ſhew'd them ſtill to the other; and then both of them laugh'd at the Intelligence; after which *Morrice* frequently called for his Horſe, and went home to his Houſe, telling his Friend "that though he had, he knew, no miſtruſt "of his Friendſhip, and knew him too well to think him ca"pable of ſuch baſeneſs, yet he ought not for his own ſake be "thought to ſlight the information; which would make his "Friends the leſs careful of him: that they had reaſon to give "him warning of thoſe meetings, which, if he had not known "himſelf, had been very worthy of his ſuſpicion; therefore "he would forbear coming to the Caſtle again, till this jea"louſy of his Friends ſhould be over; who would know of "this, and be ſatisfied with it: and no power of the Governour could prevail with him, at ſuch times, to ſtay; but he would be gone, and ſtay away till he was, after ſome time, ſent for again with great importunity, the Governour deſiring his Counſel and Aſſiſtance as much as his Company.

It fell out, as it uſually doth in Affairs of that nature, when many Men are engaged, that there is an impatience to execute what is projected before the time be throughly ripe The buſineſs of the Fleet, and in *Kent*, and other places, and the daily Alarms from *Scotland*, as if that Army had been entring the Kingdom, made the Gentlemen who were engaged for this Enterpriſe, imagine that they deferr'd it too long, and that though they had receiv'd no Orders from Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*, which they were to expect, yet they had been ſent, and miſcarried. Hereupon they called upon the Gentleman who had undertaken, and He upon *Morrice*, for the Execution of the deſign. The time agreed upon was ſuch a Night, when the Surpriſers were to be ready upon ſuch a part of the Wall, and to have Ladders to mount in two places, where two Soldiers were to be appointed for Sentinels who were privy to the attempt. *Morrice* was in the Caſtle, and in Bed with the Governour, and, according to his cuſtom, roſe about the hour he thought all would be ready. They without, made the Sign agreed upon, and were Anſwer'd by one of the Sentinels from the Wall; upon which they run to both places where they were to mount their Ladders. By ſome Accident, the other Sentinel who was deſign'd, was not upon the other part of the Wall; but when the Ladder was mounted there, the Sentinel called out; and finding that there were Men under the Wall, run towards the Court of Guard to call for help; which gave an Alarm to the Garriſon: ſo that, for that time, the deſign was diſappointed. But, ſhortly after, *Morrice*, and ſome of the ſame Gentlemen ſurpriſed the Caſtle, under the diſguiſe of Country-men coming in with Carts of Proviſion; and preſently ſeiſed on and maſter'd the main Guard, and made way for their Friends, Horſe and Foot, to enter. Then two or three of them went to the Governour's Chamber, whom they found in his Bed, and told him "the Caſtle was ſurpriſed, and himſelf a Pri-" ſoner. He betook himſelf to his Armes for his defence, but quickly found that his Friend had betray'd it, and the other Gentlemen appearing, of whom he had been before warn'd, his defence was to no purpoſe, yet he receiv'd ſome wounds. *Morrice* afterwards comforted him with aſſurance "of good " uſage, and that he would procure his Pardon from the King " for his Rebellion.

They put the Garriſon in good order, and ſo many came to them from *York ſhire*, *Nottingham*, and *Lincoln*, that they could not in a ſhort time be reſtrain'd, and had leiſure to fetch in all ſorts of Proviſions for their ſupport, and to make and renew ſuch Fortifications as might be neceſſary for their defence. From *Nottingham* there came Sr *John Digby*, Sr *Hugh Cartwright*, and a Son and Nephew of his, who had been good Officers in the Army, with many Soldiers who had been under their Command; many other Gentlemen of the three Counties were preſent, and deſerve to have their Names recorded, ſince it was an Action throughout of great Courage and Conduct.

CROMWELL's marching towards the *Scots* with the neglect of theſe Men after their firſt appearance, and only appointing ſome County Troops to incloſe them from increaſing their ſtrength, gave them great opportunity to grow; ſo that driving thoſe Troops to a greater diſtance, they drew Contribution from all the parts about them, and made Incurſions much farther, and render'd themſelves ſo terrible, that, as was ſaid before, after the *Scotiſh* defeat, thoſe of *York-ſhire* ſent very earneſtly to *Cromwell*, "that he would make it the "buſineſs of his Army to reduce *Pontfret*. But he, reſolving upon his *Scotiſh* Expedition, thought it enough to ſend *Rainſborough* to perform that Service, with a Regiment of Horſe, and one or two of Foot, belonging to the Army; which, with a conjunction of the Country Forces under the ſame Command, he doubted not would be ſufficient to perform a greater work. Aſſoon as the Caſtle had been reduced, they who were poſſeſſed of it were very willing to be under the Command of *Morrice*; who declared he would not accept the Charge, nor be Governour of the place, knowing well what jealouſies he might be liable to, at leaſt upon any change of Fortune, but under the direction of Sr *John Digby*; who was Colonel General of thoſe parts, and was a Man rather cordial in the Service, than equal to the Command; which made him refer all things ſtill to the Counſel, and Conduct of thoſe Officers who were under him; by whoſe activity, as much was done as could be expected from ſuch a knot of reſolute Perſons.

Part of the Garriſon's attempt upon Rainſborough.

THE total defeat of the *Scotiſh* Army being now generall known, and that their Friends in all other places were defeated, they in the Caſtle well knew what they were preſently to expect, and that they ſhould be ſhortly ſhut up from making farther excurſions. They heard that *Rainsborough* wa upon his march towards them, and had already ſent ſom Troops to be Quarter'd near them, himſelf yet keeping hi Head Quarters at *Doncaſter*, ten Miles from the Caſtle. They reſolv'd, whilſt they yet enjoy'd this liberty, to make a nobl attempt. They had been inform'd, that Sr *Marmaduke Langdale* (whom they ſtill called their General) after the overthrow of the *Scotiſh* Army, had been taken Priſoner, and remaine nained in *Nottingham* Caſtle under a moſt ſtrict cuſtody, as Man the Parliament declared, "they would make an example of their juſtice. A Party of about twenty Horſe, but icked and choice Men, went out of the Caſtle, in the begining of the Night, with a Reſolution to take *Rainsborough* Priſoner, and thereby to ranſom their General. They were ll good Guides, and underſtood the ways, private and pubick, very exactly; and went ſo far, that about the break of lay or a little after, in the end of *Auguſt*, they put themſelves nto the Common Road that led from *York*; by which ways he Guards expected no Enemy; and ſo ſlightly asked them ' whence they came? who negligently Anſwer'd; and asked gain, "where their General was? ſaying, "they had a Letter "for him from *Cromwell* They ſent one to ſhew them where the General was; which they knew well enough; and that he lay at the beſt Inn of the Town. And when the Gate of the Inn was opened to them, three of them only enter'd into the Inn, he other rode to the other end of the Town to the Bridge, over which they were to paſs towards *Pontfret*; where they expected, and did find a Guard of Horſe and Foot, with whom they entertain'd themſelves in diſcourſe, ſaying "that "they ſtayed for their Officer, who went only in to ſpeak "with the General; and called for ſome drink. The Guards making no queſtion of their being Friends, ſent for drink, and talked negligently with them of News; and, it being broad day, ſome of the Horſe alighted, and the Foot went to the Court of Guard, conceiving that Morning's work to be over. They who went into the Inn, where no body was awake but the Fellow who opened the Gate, asked in which Chamber the General (for ſo all the Soldiers called *Rainsborough*) lay; and the Fellow ſhewing them from below the Chamber door, two of them went up, and the other ſtayed below, and held the Horſes, and talked with the Soldier who had walked with them from the Guard. The two who went up, open'd the Chamber door, found *Rainsborough* in his Bed, but awaked with the little noiſe they had made. They told him in ſhort "that he was their Priſoner, and that it was in his power to "chooſe whether he would be preſently killed (for which work he ſaw they were very well prepared) "or quietly, without making reſiſtance, or delay, to put on his Cloaths and "be mounted upon a Horſe, that was ready below for him, "and accompany them to *Pontfret*. The preſent danger awaken'd him out of the amazement he was in, ſo that he told them he would wait upon them, and made the haſt that was neceſſary to put on his Cloaths. One of them took his Sword, and ſo they led him down ſtairs. He that held the Horſes, had ſent the Soldier away to thoſe who were gone before, to ſpeak to them to get ſome drink, and any thing elſe, that could be made ready in the Houſe, againſt they came. When *Rainsborough* came into the Street, which he expected to find full of Horſe, and ſaw only one Man, who held the others Horſes, and preſently mounted that he might be bound behind him, he begun to ſtruggle, and to cry out. Whereupon, when they ſaw no hope of carrying him away, they immediately run him through with their Swords, and, leaving him dead upon the ground, they got upon their Horſes, and rode towards their Fellows, before any in the Inn could be ready to follow them. When thoſe at the Bridge ſaw their Companions coming, which was their ſign, being well prepared, and knowing what they were to do, they turn'd upon the Guard, and made them fly in diſtraction; ſo that the way was clear and free; and though they miſſed carrying home the prize for which they had made ſo luſty an adventure, they joyn'd together, and marched, with the Expedition that was neceſſary, a ſhorter way than they had come, to their Garriſon; leaving the Town and Soldiers behind in ſuch a conſternation, that, not being able to receive any information from their General, whom they found dead upon the ground without any Body in view, they thought the Devil had been there; and could not recollect themſelves, which way they were to purſue an Enemy they had not ſeen. The Gallant Party came ſafe home without the leaſt damage to Horſe or Man, hoping to make ſome other attempt more ſucceſsfully, by which they might redeem Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*. There was not an Officer in the Army whom *Cromwell* would not as willingly have loſt as this Man; who was bold and barbarous to his wiſh, and fit to be entruſted in the moſt deſperate Intereſt, and was the Man whom that Party always intended to commit the Maritime Affairs to, when it ſhould be time to diſmiſs the Earl of *Warwick*; he having been bred in that Element, and knowing the duty of it very well, though he had that misfortune ſpoken of in the beginning of the Summer.

AND now to finiſh this buſineſs of *Pontfret* altogether, which laſted near to the end of this year, when *Lambert* came to this Charge (inſtructed by *Cromwell* to take full Vengeance for the loſs of *Rainsborough*, to whoſe Ghoſt he deſign'd an ample Sacrifice) and kept what Body of Men he thought fit for that purpoſe, he reduced them in a ſhort time within their own Circuit, making good Works round about the Caſtle, that they might at laſt yield to Hunger, if nothing elſe would reclaim them. Nor did they quietly ſuffer themſelves to be cooped up without bold and frequent Sallies, in which many of the Beſiegers, as well as the others, loſt their Lives. They diſcover'd many of the Country who held correſpondence with, and gave Intelligence to the Caſtle, whom they apprehended, whereof there were two Divines, and ſome Women of Note, Friends and Allies to the beſieged. After frequent Mortifications of this kind, and no human hope of Relief, they were content to offer to Treat for the Delivery of the Caſtle, if they might have honourable Conditions; if not, they ſent word “ that they had Proviſions yet for a good “ time; that they durſt die, and would ſell their Lives at as “ dear a price as they could. *Lambert* Anſwer'd, that he knew “ they were gallant Men, and that he deſir'd to preſerve as “ many of them, as was in his power to do, but he muſt re- “ quire ſix of them to be given up to him, whoſe Lives he “ could not ſave; which he was ſorry for, ſince they were “ brave men; but his hands were bound. The ſix excepted by him were Colonel *Morrice*, and five more whoſe Names he found to have been amongſt thoſe who were in the Party that had deſtroy'd *Rainsborough*; which was an Enterpriſe no brave Enemy would have revenged in that manner: nor did *Lambert* deſire it, but *Cromwell* had enjoyn'd it him: all the reſt he “ was content to releaſe, that they might return to “ their Houſes, and apply themſelves to the Parliament for “ their Compoſitions, towards which he would do them all “ the good Offices he could. They from within acknowledg'd “ his Civility in that particular, and would be glad to em- “ brace it, but they would never be guilty of ſo baſe a thing, “ as to deliver up any of their Companions; and therefore they deſir'd “ they might have ſix days allow'd them, that “ thoſe ſix might do the beſt they could to deliver themſelves; “ in which it ſhould be lawful for the reſt to aſſiſt them; to which *Lambert* generouſly conſented, “ ſo that the reſt would “ Surrender at the end of that time; which was agreed to. Upon the firſt day the Garriſon appear'd twice or thrice, as if they were reſolv'd to make a Sally, but retired every time without Charging; but the ſecond day they made a very ſtrong and brisk Sally upon another place than where they had appear'd the day before, and beat the Enemy from their Poſt, with the loſs of Men on both ſides; and though the Party of the Caſtle was beaten back, two of the ſix (whereof *Morrice* was one) made their eſcape, the other four being forced to retire with the reſt. And all was quiet for two whole days; but in the beginning of the Night of the fourth day, they made another attempt ſo proſperouſly, that two of the other four likewiſe eſcaped: and the next day they made great ſhews of joy, and ſent *Lambert* word, “ that their ſix Friends were “ gone (though there were two ſtill remaining) and there- “ fore they would be ready the next day to Surrender.

THE other two thought it to no purpoſe to make another attempt, but deviſed another way to ſecure themſelves, with a leſs dangerous Aſſiſtance from their Friends, who had loſt ſome of their own lives in the two former Sallies to ſave theirs. The buildings of the Caſtle were very large and ſpacious, and there were great ſtore of waſt Stones from ſome Walls, which were fallen down. They found a convenient place, which was like to be leaſt viſited, where they walled up their two Friends in ſuch a manner that they had Air to ſuſtain them, and Victual enough to feed them a Month, in which time they hoped they might be able to eſcape. And this being done, at the hour appointed they open'd their Ports, and after *Lambert* had cauſed a ſtrict inquiſition to be made for thoſe ſix, none of which he did believe had in truth eſcaped, and was ſatisfied that none of them were amongſt thoſe who were come out, he receiv'd the reſt very Civilly, and obſerv'd his promiſe made to them very punctually, and did not ſeem ſorry that the ſix Gallant Men (as he called them) were eſcaped.

Pontfret *deliver'd up to* **Lambert.**

AND now they heard, which very much reliev'd their broken Spirits, that Sr *Marmaduke Langdale* had made an eſcape out of the Caſtle of *Nottingham*; who ſhortly after Tranſported himſelf beyond the Seas. *Lambert* preſently took care ſo to diſmantle the Caſtle, that there ſhould be no more uſe of it for a Garriſon, leaving the vaſt ruins ſtill ſtanding; and then drew off all his Troops to new Quarters; ſo that, within ten days after the Surrender, the two who were left walled up, threw down their incloſure, and ſecurely provided for themſelves. Sr *John Digby* liv'd many years after the King's Return, and was often with his Majeſty. Poor *Morrice* was afterwards taken in *Lancaſhire*, and happen'd to be put to death in the ſame place where he had committed a fault againſt the King, and where he firſt perform'd a great Service to the Parliament.

The Condition of the Prince and the Duke of York *at the* Hague, *and the factions among their Followers.*

IN this deſperate Condition, that is before deſcribed, ſtood the King's Affairs when the Prince was at the *Hague*, his Fleet already mutinying for Pay, his own Family factious and in neceſſity, and that of his Brother the Duke of *York* full of Intrigues, and Deſigns, between the reſtleſs unquiet Spirit of *Bamfield*, and the Ambitious and as unquiet Humour of Sr *John Berkley*. The Council, which was not numerous (for the Prince had not Authority to add any to thoſe who were his Father's Counſellors) wanted not Unity in it ſelf, ſo much as ſubmiſſion and reſpect from others, which had been loſt to thoſe who were in the Fleet, and the prejudice to thoſe ſtill remain'd, and ſo abated much of the reverence which moſt Men were willing to pay to the two who came laſt. And the great Animoſity which Prince *Rupert* had againſt the Lord *Colepepper* infinitely diſturbed the Counſels, and perplexed the Lord *Cottington*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had credit enough with the other two. But *Colepepper* had ſome Paſſions and Infirmities, which no Friends could reſtrain; and though Prince *Rupert* was very well inclined to the Chancellor, and would in many things be adviſed by him, yet his prejudice to *Colepepper* was ſo rooted in him, and that prejudice ſo induſtriouſly cultivated by *Herbert* the Atturney General, who had the abſolute Aſcendent over that Prince, and who did perfectly hate all the World that would not be govern'd by him, that every meeting in Council was full of bitterneſs and ſharpneſs between them.

ONE day the Council met (as it uſed to do when they did not attend the Prince of *Wales* at his Lodgings) at the Lord Treaſurer's Lodging (He and the Chancellor of the Exchequer being in one Houſe) about giving direction for the ſale of ſome Goods which had been taken at Sea, for the raiſing of Money toward the payment of the Fleet. In ſuch ſervices Merchants, and other proper Perſons, were always neceſſary to be truſted. Prince *Rupert* propoſed “that one Sr *Robert* “*Walſh* (a Perſon too well known to be truſted) might be “employ'd in that Affair: it was to ſell a Ship of Sugar. No Man who was preſent would ever have conſented that he ſhould have been employ'd; but the Lord *Colepepper* ſpoke againſt him with ſome warmth, ſo that it might be thought to reflect a little upon Prince *Rupert*, who had propoſed him. Upon which, He asking “what exceptions there were to Sr “*Robert Walſh*, why he might not be fit for it, *Colepepper* Anſwer'd with ſome quickneſs, “that he was a known cheat; which, though notoriouſly true, the Prince ſeem'd to take very ill; and ſaid, “he was his Friend, and a Gentleman; “and if he ſhould come to hear of what had been ſaid, he “knew not how the Lord *Colepepper* could avoid Fighting “with him. *Colepepper*, whoſe Courage no Man doubted, preſently replied, “that he would not Fight with *Walſh*, but “he would Fight with his Highneſs; to which the Prince Anſwer'd very quietly, “that it was well; and the Council roſe in great perplexity.

PRINCE *Rupert* went out of the Houſe, and the Chancellor led the Lord *Colepepper* into the Garden, hoping that he ſhould ſo far have prevail'd with him, as to have made him ſenſible of the exceſs he had committed, and to have perſwaded him preſently to repair to the Prince, and to ask his Pardon, that no more notice might be taken of it. But he was yet too warm to conceive he had committed any fault, but ſeem'd to think only of making good what he had ſo im-prudently ſaid. Prince *Rupert* quickly inform'd his Confident the Atturney General of all that had paſſed; who was the unfitteſt Man living to be truſted with ſuch a ſecret, having always about him ſtore of Oyl to throw upon ſuch Fire. He ſoon found means to make it known to the Prince, who preſently ſent for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to be inform'd of the whole matter; and when he underſtood it, was exceedingly troubled, and required him "to let *Colepepper* know, "that he ought to make a ſubmiſſion to Prince *Rupert*; with-"out which worſe would fall out.

HE went firſt to Prince *Rupert*, that he might pacify him till he could convince the other of his fault; and he ſo far prevail'd with his Highneſs, who would have been more Cholerick if he had had leſs Right of his ſide, that he was willing to receive a ſubmiſſion; and promiſed "that the other ſhould "receive no affront in the mean time. But he found more difficulty on the other ſide, the Lord *Colepepper*, continuing ſtill in rage, thought the provocation was ſo great, that he ought to be excuſed for the Reply, and that the Prince ought to acknowledge the one as well as He the other. But after ſome days recollection, finding no Body with whom he converſed of his mind, and underſtanding how much the Prince was diſpleaſed, and that he expected he ſhould ask Prince *Rupert* Pardon, and withal reflecting upon the place he was in, where he could expect no ſecurity from his Quality and Function, he reſolv'd to do what he ought to have done at firſt; and ſo he went with the Chancellor to Prince *Rupert*'s Lodging; where he behaved himſelf very well; and the Prince receiv'd him with all the Grace could be expected; ſo that ſo ill a buſineſs ſeem'd to be as well concluded as the nature of it would admit. But the worſt was to come: the Atturney General had done all he could to diſſwade that Prince from accepting ſo ſmall, and ſo private a ſatisfaction; but, not prevailing, he inflamed Sr *Robert Walſh*, who had been inform'd of all that had paſſed at the Council concerning himſelf, to take his own revenge; in which many Men thought, that he was aſſured Prince *Rupert* would not be offended. And the next Morning after his Highneſs had receiv'd ſatisfaction, as the Lord *Colepepper* was walking to the Council without a Sword, *Walſh*, coming to him, ſeem'd quietly to expoſtulate with him, for having mention'd him ſo unkindly. To the which the other Anſwer'd, "that he would give him ſatis-"faction in any way he would require; though he ought not "to be call'd in queſtion for any thing he had ſaid in that "place. On a ſuddain, whilſt they were in this calm diſcourſe, *Walſh* ſtruck him with all his force one blow in the Face with his Fiſt; and then ſtepped back, and drew his

Sword;

Sword; but ſeeing the other had none, walked away; and the Lord *Colepepper*, with his Noſe and Face all bloody, went back to his Chamber, from whence he could not go abroad in many days by the effect and disfiguring of the blow. This outrage was committed about ten of the Clock in the Morning in the ſight of the Town; which troubled the Prince exceedingly; who immediately ſent to the States to demand Juſtice; and they, according to their method and ſlow proceedings in matters which they do not take to heart, cauſed *Walſh* to be Summon'd, and after ſo many days, for want of Appearance, he was by the ſound of a Bell publickly baniſhed from the *Hague*; and ſo he made his reſidence in *Amſterdam*, or what other place he pleaſed. And this was the reparation the States gave the Prince for ſo Ruffianly a tranſgreſſion; and both the beginning and the end of this unhappy buſineſs expoſed the Prince himſelf, as well as his Council, to more diſadvantage, and leſs reverence, than ought to have been paid to either.

The ill condition of th Prince's Fleet in Holland.

THE improvidence that had been uſed in the Fleet, beſides its unactivity, by the diſmiſſing ſo many great Prizes, was now too apparent, when there was neither Money to pay the Sea-men, who were not modeſt in requiring it, nor to new Victual the Ships, which was as important; ſince it was eaſy to be foreſeen, that they could not remain long in the Station where they were for the preſent, and the extreme licence which all Men took to cenſure and reproach that improvidence, diſturbed all Counſels, and made Converſation it ſelf very uneaſy. Nor was it poſſible to ſuppreſs that Licence; every Man believing that his particular neceſſities, with which all Men abounded, might eaſily have been reliev'd, and provided for, if it had not been for that ill husbandry; which they therefore called Treachery and Corruption. It cannot be denied but there was ſo great a Treaſure taken, which turn'd to no account, and ſo much more might have been taken, if the ſeveral Ships had been applied to that end, that a full proviſion might have been made, both for the ſupport of the Fleet, and ſupply of the Prince, and of all who depended upon him for a good time, if the ſame had been well managed; and could have been depoſited in ſome ſecure place, till all might have been ſold at good Markets. And no body was ſatisfied with the Reaſons which were given for the diſcharging, and diſmiſſing ſo many Ships to gratify the City of *London*, and the Presbyterian Party throughout the Kingdom. For, beſides that the value of what was ſo given away and loſt, was generally believ'd to be worth more than all they would have done, if they had been able, thoſe Bounties were not the natural motives which were to be applied to that People;

ple; whoſe Affections had been long dead, and could be revived by nothing but their ſharp ſufferings, and their inſupportable loſſes; the obſtruction and deſtruction of their Trade, and the ſeiſing upon their Eſtates, being, at that time, thought by many the moſt proper Application to the City of *London*, and the beſt Arguments to make them in love with Peace, and to extort it from them in whoſe power it was to give it. And if the Fleet had applied it ſelf to that, and viſited all thoſe Maritime Parts which were in Counties well affected, and where ſome places had declared for the King (as *Scarborough* in *York-ſhire* did) if it had not been poſſible to have ſet the King at liberty in the Iſle of *Wight*, or to have reliev'd *Colcheſter*, (both which many Men believ'd, how unskilfully ſoever, to be practicable) it would have ſpent the time much more advantageouſly and honourably than it did.

BUT let the ill conſequence be never ſo great, if it had proceeded from any corruption, it would probably have been diſcover'd by the examination and inquiſition that was made; and therefore it may be well concluded that there was none. And the truth is, the Queen was ſo fully poſſeſs'd of the purpoſe and the power of the *Scots* to do the King's buſineſs, before the Inſurrections in the ſeveral parts in *England*, and the revolt of the Fleet appear'd, that ſhe did not enough weigh the good uſe that might have been made of thoſe when they did happen, but kept her mind then ſo fixed upon *Scotland*, as the ſole foundation of the King's hopes, that ſhe looked upon the benefit of the Fleet's returning to their Allegiance, only as an opportunity offer'd by Providence to Tranſport the Prince with ſecurity thither. And her Inſtructions to thoſe ſhe truſted about the Prince, were ſo poſitive, "that they ſhould not "give conſent to any thing that might divert or delay that "Expedition, that, if the Earl of *Lautherdale* had been arriv'd when the Prince came to the Fleet, it would have been immediately engaged to have Tranſported the Prince into *Scotland*, what other conveniences ſoever, preferable to that, had offer'd themſelves. And the very next day after that Lord's coming to the Prince in the *Downs*, his injunctions and behaviour were ſo imperious for the Prince's preſent departure, that nothing but a direct Mutiny among the Sea-men prevented it. His Highneſs's own Ship was under Sail for *Holland*, that he might from thence have proſecuted his other Voyage: nor would he at that time have taken *Holland* in his way, if there had been any quantity of Proviſion in the Fleet for ſuch a Peregrination. This Expedition for *Scotland* was the more grievous to all Men, becauſe it was evident that the Prince himſelf was much more inclined to have purſued other occaſions which were offer'd, and only reſign'd himſelf implicitly to the pleaſure of his Mother.

The Earl of Warwick *with his Fleet comes upon the Coaſt of* Holland.

THE preſent ill Condition of the Fleet, and the unſteady Humour of the Common Sea-men was the more notorious, and unſeaſonable, by the Earl of *Warwick*'s coming with another Fleet from the Parliament upon the Coaſt of *Holland*, within few days after the Prince came to the *Hague*, and Anchoring within view of the King's Fleet. And it is probable he would have made ſome Hoſtile Attempt upon it, well knowing that many Officers and Sea-men were on Shore, if the States had not in the very Inſtant, ſent ſome of their Ships of War to preſerve the Peace in Their Port. However, according to the Inſolence of his Maſters, and of moſt of thoſe imploy'd by them, the Earl ſent a Summons of a ſtrange Nature to the King's Ships, in which he took notice, “that a “Fleet of Ships, which were part of the Navy Royal of the “Kingdom of *England*, was then Riding at Anchor off *Helvoet Sluce*, and bearing a Standard: That he did therefore, “by the Parliament's Authority, by which he was conſtituted Lord High Admiral of *England*, require the Admiral, “or Commander in chief of that Fleet, to take down the “Standard; and the Captains, and Mariners belonging to the “Ships, to render themſelves and the Ships to him, as High “Admiral of *England*, and for the uſe of the King and Parliament: And he did, by the like Authority, offer an indemnity to all thoſe who ſhould ſubmit to him.

AFTER which Summons, though receiv'd by the Lord *Willoughby*, who remain'd on Board the Fleet in the Command of Vice-Admiral, with that indignation that was due to it, and though it made no impreſſion upon the Officers, nor viſibly, at that time, upon the Common Men, yet, during the time the Earl continued in ſo near a Neighbourhood, he did find means by private Inſinuations, and by ſending many of his Sea-men on Shore at *Helvoet Sluce* (where they enter'd into Converſation with their old Companions) ſo to work upon and corrupt many of the Sea-men, that it afterwards appear'd many were debauched; ſome whereof went on Board his Ships, others ſtay'd to do more miſchief. But that ill Neighbourhood continued not long; for the Seaſon of the Year, and the Winds which uſually rage on that Coaſt in the Month of *September*, removed him from that Station, and carried him back to the *Downs* to attend new Orders.

The Prince of Wales *has the ſmall Pox.*

ALL theſe diſturbances were attended with a worſe, which fell out at the ſame time, and that was the ſickneſs of the Prince; who, after ſome days indiſpoſition, appear'd to have the ſmall Pox; which almoſt diſtracted all who were about him, who knew how much depended upon his precious Life: And therefore the conſternation was very univerſal whilſt that was thought in danger. But, by the goodneſs and mercy of God, he recover'd in few days the peril of that diſtemper; and, within a Month, was reſtored to ſo perfect Health, that he was able to take an account himſelf of his Melancholick and perplexed Affairs.

THERE were two points which were chiefly to be conſider'd, and provided for by the Prince; neither of which would bear delay for the conſultation, and reſolution; the firſt, how to make proviſion to Pay, and Victual the Fleet, and to compoſe the Mutinous Spirits of the Sea-men; who paid no reverence to their Officers, inſomuch as, in the ſhort ſtay which the Earl of ***Warwick*** had made before ***Helvoet Sluce***, as hath been ſaid, many of the Sea-men had gone over to him, and the ***Conſtant Warwick***, a Frigat of the beſt Account, had either voluntarily left the Prince's Fleet, or ſuffer'd it ſelf willingly to be taken, and carried away with the reſt into ***England***. The other was, what he ſhould do with the Fleet, when it was both Pay'd and Victualled.

TOWARDS the firſt, there were ſome Ships brought in with the Fleet, laden with ſeveral Merchandize of value, that, if they could be ſold for the true worth, would amount to a Sum ſufficient to pay the Sea-men their Wages, and to put in Proviſions enough to ſerve four Months; and there were many Merchants from ***London***, who were deſirous to buy their own Goods, which had been taken from them; and others had Commiſſions from thence to buy the reſt. But then they all knew, that they could not be carried to any other Market, but muſt be ſold in the place where they were; and therefore they were reſolv'd to have very good Penny-worths. And there were many Debts claim'd, which the Prince had promiſed, whilſt he was in the River, ſhould be paid out of the firſt Money that ſhould be raiſed upon the Sale of ſuch and ſuch Ships: particularly, the Prince believ'd that the Counteſs of ***Carliſle***, who had committed faults enough to the King and Queen, and pawn'd her Necklace of Pearls for fifteen hundred pounds, which ſhe had totally disburſed in ſupplying Officers, and making other Proviſions for the Expedition of the Earl of ***Holland*** (which Sum of fifteen hundred pounds the Prince had promiſed the Lord ***Piercy*** his Brother, who was a very importunate Sollicitor) ſhould be paid upon the Sale of a Ship that was laden with Sugar, and was then conceiv'd to be worth above ſix or ſeven thouſand pounds. Others had the like Engagements upon other Ships: ſo that when Money was to be raiſed upon the Sale of Merchandize, they who had ſuch Engagements, would be themſelves entruſted, or nominate thoſe who ſhould be, to make the bargain with Purchaſers, to the end that they might be ſure to receive what they claim'd, out of the firſt Monies that ſhould be raiſed. By this means, double the value was deliver'd, to ſatisfy a debt that was not above the half.

BUT that which was worſe than all this, the Prince of *Orange* advertiſed the Prince, that ſome Queſtions had been ſtarted in the States, "what they ſhould do, if the Parliament "of *England* (which had now a very dreadful name) ſhould "ſend over to them to demand the reſtitution of thoſe Mer-"chants Goods, which had been unjuſtly taken in the *Downs*, "and in the River of *Thames*, and had been brought into their "Ports, and were offer'd to Sale there, againſt the obligation "of that Amity which had been obſerv'd between the two "Nations, during the late War? What Anſwer they ſhould "be able to make, or how they could refuſe to permit the "owners of thoſe Goods to make their Arreſts, and to ſue in "their Admiralty for the ſame? Which firſt Proceſs would ſtop "the preſent Sale of whatever others pretended a Title to, till "the right ſhould be determin'd. The Prince of *Orange* ſaid, "that ſuch Queſtions uſed not to be ſtarted there with-"out deſign; and therefore adviſed the Prince "to loſe no "time in making compleat Sales of all that was to be ſold; "to the end that they who were engaged in the Purchaſe, "might likewiſe be engaged in the Defence of it. Upon this Ground, as well as the others which have been mention'd, haſty bargains were made with all who deſired to buy, and who would not buy except they were ſure to be good Gainers by all the bargains which they made. Nor could this be prevented by the caution or wiſdom of any who were upon the place, with no more Authority than they had. Mr *Long*, who was Secretary to the Prince, had been poſſeſſed of the Office of receiving and paying all Monies, whilſt the Prince was in the Fleet, and ſo could not well be removed from it when he came into *Holland*: though he was thought to love Money too well, yet no body who lov'd it leſs, would at that time have ſubmitted to the imployment, which expoſed him to the importunity and inſolence of all neceſſitous Perſons, when he could ſatisfy none; yet he liked it well with all its prejudice, and diſadvantage.

ASSOON as the Money was raiſed, it was ſent to the Fleet to pay the Sea-men; and the Prince made a Journey to the Fleet to ſee, and keep up the Spirits of the Sea-men, who were very Mutinous, not without the infuſions of ſome who did not deſire they ſhould be too well pleaſed with their Officers. The Lord *Willoughby* ſtay'd on Board purely out of Duty to the King, though he liked neither the place he had, nor the People over whom he was to Command, who had yet more reſpect for Him than for any Body elſe. Sr *William Batten* likewiſe remain'd with them, not knowing well how

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to refuſe it, though he had too much reaſon to be weary of his Province, the Sea-men having contracted an implacable jealouſy and malice againſt him, more than they were naturally inclined to. And the truth is, though there was not any evidence that he had any foul practices, he had an impatient deſire to make his Peace, and to live in his own Country, as afterwards he did with the leave of the King; againſt whom he never after took imployment.

THE other point to be reſolv'd was yet more difficult, “what ſhould be done with the Fleet, and who ſhould Command it? and though the Advertiſement the Prince of *Orange* had given his Royal Highneſs, of the Queſtion ſtarted in the States, concern'd only the Merchants Ships, which were made Prize, yet it was very eaſy to diſcern the Logick of that Queſtion would extend as well, and be applied to thoſe of the Royal Navy, as to Merchants Ships. And it was evident enough, that the United Provinces would not take upon them to determine whether they were in truth the Ships of the King, or of the Parliament. And it was only the differences which were yet kept up in the Houſes, which kept them from being United in that demand. So that the Prince knew that nothing was more neceſſary than that they ſhould be gone out of the Ports of thoſe Provinces, and that the States wiſh'd it exceedingly.

WHILST *Bamfield* was about the Perſon of the Duke of *York*, he had infuſed into him a marvellous deſire to be poſſeſſed of the Government of the Fleet: but the Duke was convinced with much ado, that it was neither ſafe for his Highneſs, nor for his Father's Service, that he ſhould be embarked in it: and *Bamfield*, by an eſpecial Command from the King, who had diſcover'd more of his foul practices than could be known to the Prince, was not ſuffer'd to come any more near the Perſon of the Duke. So he return'd into *England*; where he was never called in queſtion for ſtealing the Duke away. From this time the Duke, who was not yet above fifteen years of Age, was ſo far from deſiring to be with the Fleet, that, when there was once a Propoſition, upon occaſion of a ſuddain Mutiny amongſt the Sea-men, “that he ſhould go to *Helvoet Sluce*, to appear amongſt them, who profeſſed great Duty to his Highneſs, he was ſo offended at it that he would not hear of it; and he had ſtill ſome Servant about him who took pains to perſwade him, “that the Council had inclined the Prince to that deſignation, out of ill will to his Highneſs, and that the Ships might deliver him up to the Parliament. So unpleaſant, and uncomfortable a Province had thoſe Perſons, who, being of the King's Council, ſerv'd both with great Fidelity; every Body who was unſatisfied

ſatisfied (and no Body was ſatisfied) aſperſing them, or ſome of them (for their prejudice was not equal to them all) in ſuch a manner as touch'd the honour of the reſt, and moſt reflected upon the King's own Honour, and Service.

PRINCE *Rupert* had a long deſire to have that Command of the Fleet put into his hands; and that deſire, though carried with all ſecrecy, had been the cauſe of ſo many Intrigues, either to inflame the Sea-men, or to cheriſh their froward inclinations, and encreaſe the prejudice they had to *Batten*. The Atturney mention'd this to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, ſhortly after his coming to the *Hague*, as a thing, he thought, that Prince might be induced to accept out of his Zeal to the King's Service, if he were invited to it; and thereupon was willing to debate, to what Perſon the Government of the Fleet could be committed, when it ſhould ſet Sail from that Port, and whither it ſhould go. The Chancellor made no other Anſwer to him, than "that it was like
" to be a charge of much danger, and hazard; that he muſt
" not believe that any Body would propoſe the undertaking it
" to Prince *Rupert*, or that the Prince would Command him
" to undertake it; and that he thought it neceſſary, that it
" ſhould be firſt reſolv'd, what the Fleet ſhould do, and whi-
" it ſhould go, before a Commander ſhould be appointed
" over it.

The Affairs of the Marquis of Ormond *and the Lord* Inchiquin *in* Ireland.

WHEN the Marquis of *Ormond* had waited ſo many Months at *Paris* for the Performance of thoſe gaudy promiſes which the Cardinal had made, after he ſaw in what manner the Prince of *Wales* himſelf was treated by him, and that he would not ſuffer the leaſt aſſiſtance to be applied to the Affairs of *England*, in a conjuncture when very little would probably have done the work, upon the Revolt of the Fleet, upon ſo powerful Inſurrections in *England*, and poſſeſſing ſo many places of importance on the King's behalf, and when the whole Kingdom of *Scotland* ſeem'd ſo united for his Majeſty's Service, and an Army of thirty thouſand Men were ſaid to be even ready to march; I ſay, after he diſcern'd that the Cardinal was ſo far from giving any countenance, or warmth to their blooming hopes, that he left nothing undone towards the deſtroying them, but the Impriſoning the Prince; he concluded that it was in vain for him to expect any relief for *Ireland*. And therefore he reſolv'd, though he had neither Men, nor Money, nor Armes, nor Ammunition, all which had been very liberally promiſed to tranſport with him, he would yet tranſport his own Perſon, to what evident danger ſoever he was to expoſe it. Upon the full aſſurance the Cardinal had given him of very ſubſtantial aid, he had aſſured the Lord *Inchiquin*, "that he would be preſent with him with "notable ſupply of Money, Armes, and Ammunition, and "good Officers, and ſome common Men (which were all in readineſs, if the Money had been paid to entertain them) and had likewiſe ſent to many, who had formerly ſerv'd the King, and liv'd now quietly in the Enemies Quarters, upon the Articles which had been formerly granted the Marquis of *Ormond*, "that they ſhould expect his ſpeedy arrival.

AND though he had, from time to time, ſent Advertiſements of the delays and obſtructions he met with in the *French* Court, ſo that he did almoſt deſpair of any Aſſiſtance from it, yet the Lord *Inchiquin* had advanced too far to retire; and the Lord *Liſle*, who had been ſufficiently provoked, and contemned by him, was gone into *England* with full malice, and ſuch information (which was not hard for him to be furniſh'd with) as would put *Cromwell* and the Army into ſuch fury, that his Friends in the Parliament, who had hitherto ſuſtain'd his Credit, would be very hardly able to ſupport him longer. So that, as he was to expect a ſtorm from thence, ſo he had a very ſharp War to maintain againſt the *Iriſh*, led and commanded by the Pope's Nuntio; which Wa had been always carried on in *Munſter* with wonderful animoſity, and with ſome circumſtances of bloodineſs, eſpecially againſt Prieſts, and others of the Roman Clergy, that it wa very hard to hope that thoſe People would live well together. And indeed the *Iriſh* were near rooted out of the Province o *Munſter*, though they were powerful enough, and ſtrong in all the other Provinces. Hereupon the Lord *Inchiquin*, with all poſſible earneſtneſs, writ to the Lord of *Ormond*, "that "though without any other Aſſiſtance, he would tranſport hi "own Perſon: by whoſe Countenance and Authority he preſumed the *Iriſh* might be divided, and brought to reaſon and deſired him, "in the mean time, to ſend to ſuch of the "*Iriſh* as had dependence upon him, and who, he knew, in "their Hearts did not wiſh well to the Nuntio, that they "would ſecretly correſpond with Him; and diſpoſe thei "Friends and Dependents to concur in what might advanc "the King's Service; to which they did not know that he wa "inclined, but look'd upon him, as the ſame malicious anc "irreconcilable Enemy to them, as he had always appear'd t "be to their Religion, more than to their Perſons.

An Account of the Affairs of the Iriſh *about this time.*

FROM the time that the *Iriſh* enter'd into that bloody, an fooliſh Rebellion, they had very different Affections, Inten tions, and Deſigns, which were every day improv'd in th carrying on the War. That part of them which inhabite the *Pale*, ſo called from a circuit of ground contain'd in it was originally of *Engliſh* Extraction, ſince the firſt Plantatio by the *Engliſh* many Ages paſt. And though they were de generate generated into the manners and barbarous Cuſtoms of the *Iriſh*, and were as ſtupidly tranſported with the higheſt Superſtition of the Romiſh Religion, yet they had always ſteadily adher'd to the Crown, and perform'd the duty of good Subjects during all thoſe Rebellions which the whole Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* was ſeldom without. And of that temper moſt of the Province of *Lemſter* was: *Munſter* was the moſt planted with *Engliſh* of all the Provinces of *Ireland*, and though there were many Noble Men of that Province who were of the oldeſt *Iriſh* Extractions, and of thoſe Families which had been Kings of *Munſter*, yet many of them had intermarried with the beſt *Engliſh* Families, and ſo were better bred, and more civilized than the reſt of the old *Iriſh*, and liv'd regularly in Obedience to the Government, and by connivance enjoy'd the exerciſe of their Religion, in which they were very zealous, with freedom and liberty enough.

THE Seat of the old *Iriſh*, who retain'd the Rites, Cuſtoms, Manners, and Ignorance of their Anceſtors, without any kind of reformation in either, was the Province of *Ulſter*; not the better cultivated by the Neighbourhood of the *Scots*, who were planted upon them in great Numbers, with circumſtances of great Rigour. Here the Rebellion was firſt contriv'd, cheriſh'd, and enter'd upon with that horrid Barbarity, by the *O Neils*, the *Macguyres*, and the *Macmahoons*; and though it quickly ſpread it ſelf, and was entertain'd in the other Provinces (many Perſons of Honour and Quality engaging themſelves by degrees in it for their own ſecurity, as they pretended, to preſerve themſelves from the undiſtinguiſhing ſeverity of the Lords Juſtices, who denounced the War againſt all *Iriſh* equally, if not againſt all Roman Catholicks; which kind of mixture and confuſion was carefully declin'd in all the orders and directions ſent to them out of *England*, but ſo unskilfully purſued by the Juſtices, and Council there, that as they found themſelves without any imployment or truſt, to which they had chearfully offer'd their Service, they concluded, that the *Engliſh Iriſh* were as much in the jealouſy of the State as the other, and ſo reſolv'd to prevent the danger by as unwarrantable Courſes as the reſt had done) yet, I ſay, they were no ſooner enter'd into the War, which was ſo generally embraced, but there appear'd a very great difference in the temper and purpoſes of thoſe who proſecuted it. They of the more moderate Party, and whoſe main end was to obtain liberty for the exerciſe of their Religion, without any thought of declining their ſubjection to the King, or of invading his Prerogative, put themſelves under the Command of General *Preſton*: the other, of the fiercer and more ſavage Party, and who never meant to return to their Obedience of the Crown of *England*, and looked upon all the Eſtates which had ever been in the poſſeſſion of any of their Anceſtors, though forfeited by their Treaſon and Rebellion, as juſtly due to them, and raviſh'd from them by the Tyranny of the Crown, march'd under the Conduct of *Owen Roe O Neile*; both Generals of the *Iriſh* Nation; the one deſcended of *Engliſh* Extraction through many deſcents; the other purely *Iriſh*, and of the Family of *Tyrone*; both bred in the Wars of *Flanders*, and both Eminent Commanders there, and of perpetual jealouſy of each other: the one of the more frank and open Nature; the other darker, leſs polite, and the wiſer Man; but both of them then in the head of more numerous Armies apart, than all the King's power could bring into the Field againſt either of them.

The Characters of Preſton *and* O Neile *their chief Generals.*

THIS diſparity in the Temper and Humour of thoſe People, firſt diſpoſed thoſe of the moſt moderate to deſire a Peace ſhortly after the Rebellion was begun, and produced the Ceſſation that was firſt enter'd into, and the Peace, which did not ſoon enough enſue upon it; and which, upon the matter, did provide only for the exerciſe of the Roman Catholick Religion; but did that in ſo immoderate and extravagant a manner, as made it obnoxious to all the Proteſtants of the King's Dominions.

OWEN *Roe O Neile* refuſed to ſubmit to the Conditions, and Articles of that Peace, though tranſacted and confirm'd by their Catholick Council at *Kilkenny*, which was the Repreſentative the *Iriſh* Nation had choſen for the Conduct of all the Counſels for Peace and War, and to which they all avowed, and had hitherto paid an entire Obedience. The Pope's Nuntio, who about that time came from *Rome*, and Tranſported himſelf into that Kingdom, applied himſelf to *Owen O Neil*, and took that Party into his Protection; and ſo wrought upon their Clergy, generally, that he broke that Peace, and proſecuted thoſe who had made it, with thoſe circumſtances which have been before remember'd, and which neceſſitated the Lord Lieutenant to quit the Kingdom, and to leave the City of *Dublin* in the hands of the Parliament; the Lord *Inchiquin* having likewiſe refuſed to conſent, and ſubmit to that Peace, and continued to make the War ſharply and ſucceſsfully againſt the *Iriſh* in the Province of *Munſter*; whereof he was Preſident. But the Nuntio was no ſooner inveſted in the ſupreme Command of that Nation both by Sea and Land, as over a People ſubject to the Pope, and of a Dominion belonging to Him, than, being a Man of a fantaſtical Humour, and of an imperious and proud Nature, he behaved himſelf ſo inſolently towards all (and having brought no Aſſiſtance to them but the Pope's Bulls, endeavour'd by

The Pope's Nuntio Commands the Iriſh.

new exactions to enrich himſelf) that even the Men of *Ulſter* were weary of him; and they who had been the Inſtruments of the former Peace, were not wanting to foment thoſe jealouſies, and diſcontents, which had produced that application to the Queen and Prince at S^t^ *Germains*, and the Reſolution of ſending the Marquis of *Ormond* thither again, both which have been related before. And the Marquis now having given the Lord *Muskerry* (who had Married his Siſter, and was the moſt powerful Perſon, and of the greateſt Intereſt in *Munſter* of all the *Iriſh*) and other of his Friends notice that the Lord *Inchiquin* would ſerve the King, and therefore required them to hold ſecret correſpondence with him, and to concur with him in what he ſhould deſire for the advancement of his Service, they found means to hold ſuch intercourſe with him, that, before the Marquis of *Ormond* arriv'd there, againſt all the oppoſition the Nuntio could make, a Ceſſation of Armes was concluded between the Confederate Catholicks and the Lord *Inchiquin*; and the Nuntio was driven into *Waterford*; and, upon the matter, Beſieged there by the Catholick *Iriſh*; and the Marquis arriving at the ſame time at *Kinſale*, and being receiv'd by the Lord *Inchiquin* with all imaginable duty as the King's Lieutenant, the forlorne and contemned Nuntio found it neceſſary to Tranſport himſelf into *Italy*, leaving the Kingdom of *Ireland* under an Excommunication, and Interdict, as an Apoſtate Nation; and all the Province of *Munſter* (in which there are many excellent Ports) became immediately and entirely under the King's Obedience. All which being well known to the Prince, and the Council, it was eaſily concluded, "that it was the beſt, if not the only "place the Fleet could repair too; though the danger in Conducting it thither was viſible enough; and therefore they were glad that Prince *Rupert* had made that advance towards the Command of it, and well ſatisfied with the warmeſs of the Anſwer the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave to the Atturney **Herbert**.

The Marquis of Ormond *arrives at* Kinſale, *and the Pope's Nuntio leaves* Ireland.

There was in truth no Body in view to whom the Charge of the Fleet could be committed but Prince *Rupert*: for it was well known that the Lord *Willoughby*, beſides his being without much Experience of the Sea, was weary of it, and would by no means continue there; and the Sea-men were too much broke looſe from all kind of Order, to be reduced by a Commander of an Ordinary Rank. It was as true, that Prince *Rupert*, at that time, was generally very ungracious in *England*, having the misfortune not to be much belov'd by the King's Party, and hated by the Parliament. This was an exception that was foreſeen: there was no other choice of a place to which the Fleet muſt be carried, but *Munſter*; and the paſſage

ſage thither could not but be full of danger, in reſpect that the Parliament was without queſtion Maſter of the Sea (although the Iſland of *Silly* being then under the King's Authority, and Sr *John Greenvil* being the Governour thereof, made that paſſage ſomething the more ſecure) therefore this purpoſe was to be concealed as the laſt ſecret; there being great danger that the Sea-men would rather carry all the Ships back again to the Parliament, than into *Ireland*; againſt which People they had made a War at Sea with circumſtances very barbarous, for they had ſeldom given any Quarter, but the *Iriſh*, as well Merchants and Paſſengers, as Mariners, which fell into their Hands, as hath been ſaid before, were bound back to back and thrown into the Sea; ſo that they could have no inclination to go into a Country whoſe People had been handled ſo cruelly by them.

HERE again appear'd another objection againſt the Perſon of Prince *Rupert*, who would never endure to be ſubject to the Command of the Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdon: and yet it ſeem'd moſt reaſonable that the Ships, whilſt they ſtay'd there, might be imploy'd towards the reducing of the other parts, which were in Rebellion: Beſides that there was cauſe to fear, that the Prince would not live with that Amity towards the Marquis of *Ormond*, as was neceſſary for the Publick Service. Notwithſtanding all this, when the little Stratagem of having Prince *Rupert* deſired to take the Command of the Fleet upon him did not ſucceed, Prince *Rupert* himſelf made the Propoſition to the Prince to take the Command of it upon him, and to carry it whither his Royal Highneſs would be pleaſed to direct. And then, the whole matter being debated, neceſſity made that to be Counſellable, againſt which very many reaſonable objections might be made. So it was reſolv'd that Prince *Rupert* ſhould be Admiral of that Fleet, and that it ſhould Sail for *Ireland*. And the Charge, and Expedition appear'd to be the more hopeful by the preſence of good Officers, who had long Commanded in the Royal Navy: Sr *Thomas Kettleby*, whom the Prince made Captain of his own Ship the *Antelope*; Sr *John Mennes*, who had the Command of the *Swallow*, a Ship of which he had been Captain many years before; and Colonel *Richard Fielding*, who was made Captain of the *Conſtant Reformation*; all worthy and faithful Men to the King's Service, of long Experience in the Service at Sea, and well known and lov'd by the Sea-men. With theſe Officers, and ſome other Gentlemen, who were willing to ſpend their time in that Service, Prince *Rupert* went to *Helvoet Sluce*, where the Ships lay, and ſeem'd to be receiv'd by the Fleet with great joy. They all beſtirr'd themſelves in their ſeveral places to get the Ships ready

Prince Ru*pert undertakes the Command of the Prince's Fleet.*

ready for Sea, and all thoſe Proviſions which were neceſſary, in making whereof there had not diligence enough been uſed.

WHEN they took a ſtrict Survey of the Ships, the Carpenters were all of opinion, "that the *Convertine*, a Ship of "the ſecond Rank, that carried ſeventy Guns, was too old "and decay'd to be now ſet out in a Winter Voyage, and in "ſo rough Seas, and that when a great deal of Money ſhould "be laid out to mend her, ſhe would not be ſerviceable or ſafe. And it did appear, that when the Officers of the Navy had fitted her out at the beginning of the Summer, they had declared, "that, when ſhe came in again, ſhe would not be fit "for more uſe, but muſt be lay'd upon the Stocks. Whereupon the Ship was brought into *Helvoet Sluce*, upon the next Spring Tyde, and examined by the beſt *Dutch* Carpenters and Surveyors; and all being of the ſame mind, information was ſent by Prince *Rupert* to the Prince of the whole, who thereupon gave direction for the Sale of the Ordnance, and whatſoever elſe would yield Money: all which was applied to the Victualling, and ſetting out the reſt, without which no means could have been found to have done it; ſo much ill husbandry had been uſed, and ſo much direct cheating in the managing all the Money that had been raiſed upon the Prizes.

PRINCE *Rupert* remain'd all the time at *Helvoet Sluce*, till all was ready to ſet Sail, and had, with notable Vigour and Succeſs, ſuppreſſed two or three Mutinies, in one of which he had been compell'd to throw two or three Sea-men over-board by the ſtrength of his own Armes. All ſubordinate Officers were appointed, Commiſſioners for the Sale of all Prize Goods, and Ships that ſhould be taken, Treaſurers and Pay-maſters for iſſuing and paying and receiving all Monies; and an eſtabliſhment for the whole too regular and ſtrict to be obſerv'd: and though all Perſons imploy'd were well known, and approv'd by Prince *Rupert*, and moſt of them nominated by himſelf, yet he thought it fit after to change that Conſtitution, and by degrees brought the whole receipts, and iſſues under his own Management, and ſole Government. When all was ready he came to the *Hague*, to take leave of the Prince, and return'd, and about the beginning of *December* he ſet Sail for *Ireland*, met with good Prizes in the way, and arriv'd ſafely at *Kinſale*: nor had he been long gone out of *Holland*, when the Prince had a ſhrewd Evidence how unſecure a long abode would have been there, by ſome Parliament Ships coming into that Road, and ſending their Men on Shore, who at noon day burnt the *Convertine* within the very Town of *Helvoet Sluce*, nor did the States make any expoſtulation, or do any juſtice for the Affront offer'd to themſelves, and their Government.

Sets Sail for Ireland *in* December.

IN this calamitous State of Affairs there ſeem'd to be n
hope left, but that by Treaty the King might yet be reſtore
to ſuch a condition, that there might be thoſe Roots left in th
Crown, from whence its former Power, and Prerogativ
might ſprout out hereafter, and flouriſh. The Commiſſioner
for the Treaty arriv'd in the Iſle of *Wight* upon the fifteen
The Commiſ-ſioners arrive in the Iſle of Wight, Sept. 15.
day of *September*, whilſt *Cromwell* yet remain'd in his Norther
Progreſs, and his Army divided into ſeveral parts for the fi
niſhing his Conqueſt; which was the reaſon that all they wh
wiſhed ill to the Treaty, and that it might prove ineffectua
had uſed and interpoſed all the delays they could, that h
might return before it begun, as they who wiſhed it migh
ſucceed well, were as ſollicitous, that it might be conclude
before that time; which made them the leſs to inſiſt upo
many particulars both in the Propoſitions, and the Inſtruct
ons, which they hoped might be more capable of remedies i
the Treaty than before it.

THEY ſtayed three days in the Iſland before the Treaty be
gun, which was time little enough to prepare the Houſe fo
the King's reception at *Newport*, and adjuſting many circum
ſtances of the Treaty. In that time they waited ſeveral tim
on the King, with great ſhew of outward duty and reſpect
and though none of them durſt adventure to ſee the King i
private, they Communicated freely with ſome of thoſe Lord
and others, who, with the Parliament's leave, were come t
attend the King during the time of the Treaty. And ſo the
found means to advertiſe his Majeſty of many particular
which they thought neceſſary for him to know; which mad
different impreſſions upon him, as the information procede
from Perſons better or worſe affected to him. And many
thoſe who had liberty to attend, were competent Conſidere
of the truth of what they ſaid.

THE truth is there were amongſt the Commiſſioners m
ny who had been carried with the violence of the ſtream, an
would be glad of thoſe conceſſions which the King wou
very chearfully have granted; an Act of Indemnity and Obl
vion being what they were principally concern'd in. An
of all the reſt, who were more paſſionate for the Militia, an
againſt the Church, there was no Man, except Sr *Harry Van*
who did not deſire that a Peace might be eſtabliſhed by th
Treaty. For as all the other Lords deſired, in their own N
tures and Affections, no more than that their Tranſgreſſio
might never more be called to remembrance; ſo the Lord *S*
himſelf (who was as proud of his Quality, and of being d
ſtinguiſhed from other Men by his Title, as any Man alive
well foreſaw what would become of his Peerage, if the Trea
proved ineffectual, and the Army ſhould make their ow
mod

model of the Government they would ſubmit to (as undoubtedly they reſolv'd ſhortly to do) and therefore he did all he could to work upon the King to yield to what was propoſed to him, and, afterwards, upon the Parliament, to be content with what his Majeſty had yielded. But the advice they all gave, of what inclinations or affections ſoever they were, was the ſame, "that his Majeſty ſhould, forthwith, and without "delaying it to the expiration of the Term aſſign'd by the "Parliament for the Treaty (which was forty days) "yield "to the full demands which were made in the Propoſitions. Their only Argument was, "that, if he did not, or not do it "quickly, the Army would proceed their own way, and had "enough declared, that they would depoſe the King, change "the Government, and ſettle a Republick by their own Rules "and Invention. And this Advertiſement was as well believ'd by thoſe of the King's own Party, as by the Commiſſioners themſelves.

BEFORE the Treaty begun, the Commiſſioners made it known to the King, "that they could not admit that any "Perſon ſhould be preſent in the Room where the Treaty "ſhould be in Debate: that they were Commiſſioners ſent "from the Parliament to treat with his Majeſty, and with Him "alone; and that they might not permit any particular and "private Perſons to oppoſe, or confer with them upon the demands of the Parliament. So that albeit the Parliament had given leave to the ſeveral Biſhops, and other Divines, and to many Lawyers of eminency to wait on his Majeſty, upon his deſire, that they might inſtruct and inform him in all difficult caſes which related to Religion or the Law of the Land, they were like to be of little uſe to him now they were come, if they might not be preſent at the Debate, and offer ſuch advice to his Majeſty, as upon emergent occaſions he ſhould ſtand in need of, or require from them. At laſt they were contented, and his Majeſty was obliged to be contented too, that they might ſtand behind a Curtain, and hear all that was ſaid, and when any ſuch difficulty occurr'd as would require conſultation, his Majeſty might retire to his Chamber, and call thoſe to him, with whom he would adviſe, to attend him, and might then return again into the Room for the Treaty, and declare his own Reſolution. This was the unequal and unreaſonable preliminary and condition, to which the King was compelled to ſubmit before the Treaty could begin.

THEY who had not ſeen the King in a Years time (for it was little leſs from the time that he had left *Hampton* Court) found his Countenance extremely alter'd. From the time that his own Servants had been taken from him, he would never ſuffer his hair to be cut, nor cared to have any new Cloaths; ſo that his aſpect and appearance was very different from what it had uſed to be: otherwiſe, his health was good, and he was much more chearful in his diſcourſes towards all Men than could have been imagined, after ſuch mortification of all kinds. He was not at all dejected in his Spirits, but carried himſelf with the ſame Majeſty he had uſed to do. His hair was all gray, which, making all others very ſad, made it thought that he had ſorrow in his countenance, which appear'd only by that ſhadow.

Upon *Monday* the 18th of *September*, the Treaty begun, and the Commiſſioners preſented their Commiſſion to his Majeſty, to treat with him Perſonally, upon the Propoſitions preſented formerly at *Hampton* Court, concerning the Kingdom of *England* and *Ireland* only, and upon ſuch Propoſitions as ſhould be offer'd either by his Majeſty, or the two Houſes of Parliament, according to their Inſtructions *&c.* Though the King knew very well, that *Cromwell* had ſo totally ſubdued *Scotland*, that he had not left any Man there in the leaſt Authority or Power, who did ſo much as pretend to wiſh well to him, and that, in truth, *Cromwell* had as much the Command there as *Argyle* himſelf had, who was but his Creature, yet either to recover their broken Spirits, or to manifeſt his own Royal Compaſſion for them, he told the Commiſſioners, “that, when the Propoſitions had been deliver'd to him at “*Hampton* Court, the *Scotiſh* Intereſt was ſo involved in them, “that it could be hardly ſeparable from that of *England*: “that it concern'd him, as King of both Kingdoms, to be “juſt and equal between both; and that though they had no “Authority to treat for any thing but what related to *Eng-*“*land*, yet He, who was to provide for the publick Peace “(which could hardly be provided for, except the *Scots* were “comprehended in this Treaty) did deſire, that they would “ſend to the two Houſes of Parliament, to give a Paſs for one “of his Servants to go into *Scotland*, to invite the Council “there to ſend ſome body authorized by that Kingdom, who “might treat with the Commiſſioners of Parliament: and to that purpoſe his Majeſty deliver'd them a Paper in writing to be ſent by them to the Parliament, telling them at the ſame time, “that it was never his deſire or meaning, that they “ſhould meddle in the Government of *England*, but only “ſhould treat concerning the Peace, to the end that that “might be durable. But the Commiſſioners alledged, that “it was not in Their power to receive and tranſmit that, or “any other Paper, to the Parliament, that referr'd to that “Kingdom; and they beſought him to give them leave, as “an evidence of their Duty, to inform him of what ill conſe-

“quence the tranſmiſſion of that Paper at that time might be “to the Treaty it ſelf. Whereupon he declined ſending it by a Meſſenger of his own for the preſent (which he intended to have done) being unwilling to give any occaſion of diſpute or jealouſy ſo early, and believing that after he ſhould have gotten a good underſtanding with the two Houſes, in what was of immediate concernment to *England*, he ſhould more effectually tranſmit that, or any other Paper, for the more eaſy compoſing the affairs of *Scotland*.

THEN they preſented their firſt Propoſition to his Majeſty; “that he would revoke all Declarations, and Commiſ-“ſions granted heretofore by him againſt the Parliament. Whereupon his Majeſty deſired, “that he might ſee all the “Propoſitions, they had to make to him, together; that he “might the better conſider what ſatisfaction he could give “them upon the whole: which they would not yield to without much importunity, and at laſt deliver'd them with reluctancy, as a thing they were not ſure they ought to do. And though their Commiſſion referr'd to Inſtructions, and his Majeſty deſired that he might have a view of thoſe, they peremptorily refuſed to let him have a ſight of them; and only told him; “that they were directed by their Inſtructions, firſt “to treat upon the Propoſition they had already preſented to “him, concerning the revocation of the Declarations *&c.* “and in the next place, of the Church, then of the Militia, “and fourthly of *Ireland*, and afterwards of the reſt of the “Propoſitions in order; and they declared likewiſe that, “by their Inſtructions, they were not to enter upon any new “Propoſitions, before they ſhould have receiv'd his Majeſty's “final Anſwer to what was firſt propoſed.

The firſt Propoſition for revoking all his Majeſty's Declarations, &c.

HEREUPON the King demanded of them, “whether “they had power and authority to recede from any particular “contained in their Propoſitions, or to conſent to any altera-“tions, if his Majeſty ſhould give them good reaſon ſo to do? To which they Anſwer'd very Magiſterially, “that they were “ready to Debate, to ſhew how reaſonable their deſires were, “and that there could be no reaſon why they ſhould alter or “recede from them; but if his Majeſty did ſatisfy them, they “ſhould do therein as they were warranted by their Inſtructi-“ons. Theſe limitations and reſtrictions in a matter of that importance, which contain'd a new frame of Government, and an alteration of all Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions, almoſt damped and ſtifled all the hope his Majeſty had entertain'd of good from this Treaty. However, he reſolv'd to try if conſenting to the ſubſtantial part of any Propoſition would give them ſatisfaction; and ſo, without taking notice of the Preamble of that Propoſition, which they had deliver'd to him, *is Majeſty's nſwer to*

he declared in writing, which he deliver'd to them, “that he “was willing to grant the Body of their Propoſition, that was “to recal all Declarations *&c.* But they immediately return'd another Paper to him, in which they ſaid, “his Majeſty had “left unanſwer'd the moſt eſſential part of their Propoſition, “repeating the words in the Preamble, which recited, “that “the two Houſes of Parliament had been neceſſitated to enter “into a War in their juſt and lawful defence; and that the “Kingdom of *England* had enter'd into a ſolemn League and “Covenant to proſecute the ſame; and ſo juſtifying all that had been done *&c.* To all which they very vehemently preſſed “his Majeſty's approbation and conſent, as the moſt “neceſſary foundation of a laſting Peace, and the indiſpenſ-“able expectation of the two Houſes and of the whole King-“dom; and that the two Houſes, and the Kingdom, could “not decline this particular demand, without which they “could not believe themſelves to be in any ſecurity; ſince, “by the Letter of the Law, they who had adhered to the Par-“liament, might ſeem Guilty of raiſing War againſt the “King, and ſo to be guilty of High Treaſon by the Statute “of the 25th year of King *Edward* the third: whereas by the “conſtruction and Equity thereof they were juſtified; and “therefore that the conſenting to this Preamble was ſo eſſen-“tial, that without it the Parliament would be thought guil-“ty; which they hoped his Majeſty did not deſire it ſhould. And that this might make the deeper impreſſion upon him, the Lord *Say*, in the Debate of it, twice repeated, with more paſſion than was natural to his Conſtitution, “that he did “tremble to think how ſad the conſequence would be, if what “they now preſſed ſhould be denied. And others ſaid, that “it was no more than his Majeſty had heretofore granted in “the Act of Indemnity that he had paſſed in *Scotland*; and if “he ſhould now refuſe to do it in *England*, there would be a “ſpeedy end put to the Treaty, without entring upon any “of the other Propoſitions. The King was ſo much per-plexed, and offended with this haughty way of reaſoning, that he told thoſe with whom he conſulted, and writ the ſame to the Prince his Son, “that the long reſtraint he had endured “in the Caſtle of *Carisbrooke*, was not a greater evidence of “the Captivity of his Perſon, nor was he more ſenſible of it, “than this was of the Captivity of his Mind, by his being “forced to decline thoſe Anſwers and Arguments which “were proper to the ſupport of his Cauſe, and which muſt “have brought bluſhes over the Faces of the Commiſſioners, “and to frame others more ſeaſonable and fit to be offer'd to “Men in that condition from him who was to receive, and “not give conditions.

Diſpute concerning the Preamble of it.

HOWEVER, this Propoſition was of ſo horrid and monſtrous a Nature, ſo contrary to the known truth, and ſo deſtructive to Juſtice and Government, that it ſeem'd to naturalize Rebellion, and to make it current in the Kingdom to all Poſterity, that his Majeſty could not forbear to tell them, “that no Act of Parliament could make that to be true which “was notoriouſly known to be falſe; that this Treaty muſt “be the foundation of the future Peace and Security, and “what was herein provided for both could never be call'd in “queſtion; that he was moſt willing, that it ſhould be made “very penal to every Man to reproach another for any thing “he had done during the late Troubles, upon what Provocation ſoever. He put them in mind, “that it was well known “to ſome of them, that the Act of Indemnity in *Scotland* was “paſſed when his Majeſty was not there, nor any Commiſſioner appointed by him; that it was prepared, and drawn “by his Atturney General of that Kingdom, who was then “of the Party that was againſt his Majeſty; and therefore it “was no wonder that he call'd thoſe of his own ſide, Loyal “Subjects, and good Chriſtians, in the Preamble of that Act; “which was never ſeen by his Majeſty, though it was confirm'd indeed, with the other Acts which had paſſed in that “diſorderly time, by his Majeſty upon the concluſion of the “Peace, and their return to their Obedience; and that, when “that ſhould be the caſe here, he would give them all the “appellations they ſhould deſire, and as unqueſtionable ſecurity as they could wiſh. To all which they made no other reply, and that unanimouſly, “but that they could not believe themſelves ſecure, if that Preamble was not entirely “conſented to.

THIS refractory obſtinate adherence of the Commiſſioners to their own Will, without any ſhadow of reaſon, prevailed nothing upon the King; inſomuch as he was enclined to run the hazard of the preſent diſſolution of the Treaty, and to undergo all the inconveniencies and miſchiefs which probably might attend it, rather than to ſacrifice his Honour, and the Juſtice of his Cauſe, to their inſolent demand, until he had enter'd into a ſerious deliberation with thoſe Perſons who were about him, of whoſe affections to him he had all aſſurance, and of the great abilities, and underſtanding of moſt of them he had a very juſt eſteem. They all repreſented to him, from the Conference they had with ſuch of the Commiſſioners, who, they were confident, ſpoke to them as they thought and believ'd, “that if there were no expedient found “out to give more ſatisfaction upon this firſt Propoſition, “than his Majeſty had yet offer'd, aſſoon as the Commiſſioners ſhould give account of it to the two Houſes, they "would be preſently recall'd; and the Treaty be at an end: "And then it would be univerſally declared and believ'd, how "untrue ſoever the aſſertion was, that the King refuſed to ſe- "cure the Parliament, and all who had adher'd to them, from "a Proſecution by Law; upon which they thought it to no "purpoſe to proceed farther in the Treaty: whereas if his "Majeſty had condeſcended to them in that particular, which "concern'd the Lives and Fortunes of their whole Party in "the Kingdom, they would have given him ſuch ſatisfaction "in all other particulars, as a full and happy Peace muſt have "enſued.

THEN the Lawyers inform'd him, "that his giving way "to a recital in a new Law, which was not a Declaratory "Law of what the Law was formerly in being, concerning "the buſineſs in queſtion, and only in a Preamble to a Law "for recalling Declarations *&c.* did not make their Actions "lawful, if they were not ſo before; nor did it take away "from thoſe who had adher'd to him, any defence or benefit "the former Laws had given to them; nor would his Party "be in a worſe condition than they had always been: for his "Majeſty had always offer'd, in all his Declarations, that they "who follow'd him, and who were by them called Delin- "quents, ſhould, at all times, ſubmit to a Trial by the Laws "of the Land, and if they ſhould be found guilty of any "Crime, they ſhould not be protected by him. And it was "evident, by their not proſecuting any one, ſince they were "fallen into their hands, in any legal way, that they do not "think their Tranſgreſſions can be puniſh'd by Law.

UPON theſe reaſons, and the joynt advice and importunity of all about him, as well the Divines as the Lawyers, the King firſt deliver'd a Paper in writing to the Commiſſioners, in which he declar'd, "that nothing that ſhould be put "in writing concerning any Propoſition, or part of any Pro- "poſition, ſhould be binding, prejudicial, or made uſe of, if "the Treaty ſhould break off without effect: And the Commiſſioners preſented another Paper in writing, in which they fully conſented to that Declaration, in the very terms of the ſaid Declaration. Thereupon the King conſented to paſs the firſt Propoſition, with the Preamble to it, albeit, he ſaid, "that he well foreſaw the aſperſions it would expoſe him to; "yet he hoped his good Subjects would confeſs that it was "but a part of the price he had paid for their benefit, and "the Peace of his Dominions.

e King nſents it.

he ſecond opoſition ncerning ligion and e Church.

THE firſt Propoſition being thus conſented to as they could wiſh, they deliver'd their ſecond concerning Religion and the Church; which comprehended, "the utter aboliſhing "Epiſcopacy, and all juriſdiction exerciſed by Arch-Biſhops,

" Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, and alienating their Lands, " which ſhould be ſold to the uſe and benefit of the Common-" wealth; the Covenant; which was preſented to his Ma-" jeſty to take himſelf, and to impoſe upon all others: The " Common-Prayer, and publick Liturgy of the Church to be " aboliſh'd, and taken away; and that the Reformation of " Religion, according to the Covenant, in ſuch manner as " both Houſes had, or ſhould agree, after conſultation with " Divines, ſhould be ſettled by Act of Parliament: which, the King told them, " exceeded the Implicit Faith of the Church " of *Rome*; which rather obliges her Proſelytes to what ſhe " Does hold, than to what ſhe Shall. It required " the " eſtabliſhing the Presbyterian Government, the Directory, " the Articles of Chriſtian Religion (a Body whereof they preſented) " the ſuppreſſing Innovations in Churches; for the " better advancement of Preaching, the obſervation of the " Lord's day; a Bill againſt Pluralities and Non-reſidency; " ſeveral Acts againſt Papiſts; and the taking and impoſing " the Covenant.

THIS pregnant Propoſition, containing ſo many monſtrous particulars, ſufficiently warn'd his Majeſty, how impoſſible it would be to give them ſatisfaction in all; and therefore having, by conſenting to the entire firſt Propoſition, put it out of their power to break off the Treaty, and to tell the People, " that the King, at the entrance into it, had denied to give " them any ſecurity for their Lives and Fortunes, he thought it now fit to offer to the Commiſſioners a Propoſition of his own, that both the Parliament, and the People, might clearly diſcern how much of his own Right and Dignity he would Sacrifice for their Peace; and which, he thought, might prevent the deſigns of thoſe who might endeavour, upon one ſingle Propoſition, or part of a Propoſition, to break the Treaty.

The King offers a Pr poſition of h own; whi the Commi ſioners refu to ſend to t Houſes.

HIS own Propoſition contained, in very few words, but three particulars: 1. " That he might enjoy his Liberty: " 2. That his Revenue might be reſtored to him: 3. That " an Act of Oblivion might paſs: Which, he very well knew, would be moſt grateful to thoſe who ſeem'd to value it leaſt, as it would exempt his own Friends from any illegal, and unjuſt vexations.

THE Commiſſioners abſolutely refuſed to ſend it to the Houſes, though they had no Authority to Anſwer it themſelves. They ſaid, " it rather contain'd an Anſwer to all their " Propoſitions, than was a ſingle Propoſition of his own; and " that the ſole end of making it, was to cajole the People; which, the King told them, " better became Him to do than " any Body elſe. But when they peremptorily refuſed to tranſ-

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actory.

mit it to the Houſes, the King ſent an Expreſs of his own to deliver it; which being done, after ſome days deliberation, the Houſes return no other Anſwer to the King, "than that "his Propoſition was not ſatisfactory. In the mean time the Commiſſioners preſs'd for his Anſwer to the firſt part of their Propoſition, for the aboliſhing of Biſhops. It would be very tedious and unneceſſary to ſet down at large the Diſpute, and Arguments which were uſed on both ſides upon this Subject. The Commiſſioners, who would not ſuffer any of the King's Servants to be ſo much as preſent when any thing of the Treaty was agitated, thought fit now to let looſe their own Clergy upon the King; who was much better verſed in the Argument than they were.

ir Mini-
disputе
h the
ng about
Biſhops.

THAT which they urged moſt, was the common Allegations "that Biſhop and Presbyter in the Scripture Language "ſignified one and the ſame thing: That, if the Apoſtles ex-"erciſed a larger Juriſdiction, it had been granted to them as "Apoſtles, and concern'd not their Succeſſors, to whom no "ſuch Authority had been granted, nor any Superiority over "other Presbyters, who were of the ſame Function with them. Then they inveigh'd vehemently againſt "Lords Biſhops; "their Pride, and Luſtre; and they all behaved themſelves with that rudeneſs, as if they meant to be no longer ſubject to a King, no more than to a Biſhop And two of them very plainly and fiercely told the King, "that if he did not conſent "to the utter aboliſhing of Epiſcopacy, he would be damn'd; with which his Majeſty was not mov'd. The Men, *Jenkins* and *Spurſtow*, liv'd after the return of King *Charles* the Second, and, according to the modeſty of that race of People, came to kiſs his Majeſty's hand, and continued the ſame Zeal in all Seditious Attempts.

THE King preſs'd them with thoſe Texts of Scripture which have been conſtantly urged by thoſe who maintain the *Jus Divinum* of Biſhops, the Authority of the Fathers, and the Government of all Chriſtian Churches for fifteen hundred years, and particularly of the Church of *England*, before and ſince the Reformation, by conſtant and uniform practice and uſage; which could not but be by themſelves acknowledged to have been by Biſhops. The Commiſſioners reliev'd their ill manner'd Clergy, and urged, "that whatſoever was not of "Divine Inſtitution might very lawfully be alter'd; for if it "had its Original from Men, it might by Men be changed, or "reverſed: That Epiſcopacy as it was eſtabliſh'd in the Church "by the Laws of *England*, was not that Epiſcopacy that was "mention'd or preſcribed in Scripture; and therefore the "Laws, which ſupported it, might be juſtly taken away; "which, they ſaid, was the reaſon that had induced many

“Men who were not Enemies to Epiſcopacy, to take the Covenant; which obliged them to take the preſent Hierarchy away.

In a word they urged, “the practice of other Reform'd Churches, and that his Majeſty inſiſting upon the preſervation of Epiſcopacy, as eſſentially neceſſary, was to reproach and condemn Them. To which he Anſwer'd, “that both *Calvin* and *Beza*, and moſt Learned Men of the Reform'd Churches, had approv'd, and commended the Epiſcopal Government in *England*; and many of them had bewailed themſelves, that they were not permitted to retain that Government.

Besides all their Arguments in publick, which his Majeſty with wonderful acuteneſs fully Anſwer'd, and deliver'd his Anſwers in writing to them (which none of them ever after undertook to reply unto) they found means in private to advertiſe the King, that is, ſuch of them who were known to wiſh well to him, “that they were of his Majeſty's judgement with reference to the Government, which they hoped might yet be preſerv'd, but not by the method his Majeſty purſued: that all the reaſonable hope of preſerving the Crown, was in dividing the Parliament from the Army; which could be only done by his giving ſatisfaction in what was demanded with reference to the Church; which would unite the Parliament in it ſelf, ſome few Perſons excepted, and the City to the Parliament; where the Presbyterians were moſt powerful; and this being done, the Parliament would immediately have power to reform their Army; and to disband thoſe who would not be reform'd: That then the King would be remov'd to *London*, to perfect that by his own preſence in Parliament, which ſhould be prepared by this Treaty; and then the wording thoſe Bills, and the formality of paſſing them, would give opportunity for many alterations; which, being now attempted, would deſtroy all, and reconcile the Parliament to the Army; which would deſtroy the King: But then, what the King urged as matter of Conſcience in himſelf would find reſpect, reverence, and concurrence. No doubt they who did make theſe Inſinuations, did in truth believe themſelves; and did think, as well as wiſh, that the ſequel would be ſuch as they foretold. But that which had more Authority with the King, and which no body about him could put him in mind of, becauſe none of them had been privy to it, was the remembrance of what he had promiſed concerning the Church to the *Scots*, in the Engagement at the Iſle of *Wight*; which he could not but conclude was well known to many of the Preſbyterians in *England*: and he thought, that whatever he had promiſed to do then, upon the bare hope and probability of raiſing an Army, he might reaſonably now offer when that Army was deſtroy'd, and no hope left of raiſing another.

The King's Conceſſions on this point.

And thereupon he did, with much reluctancy, offer the ſame he had then promiſed to do; which was, "to ſuſpend Epiſcopacy for three years, and then upon conſultation with Divines, amongſt which he would nominate twenty to be preſent, and to conſult with them, ſuch a Government of the Church as ſhould be agreed upon might be eſtabliſhed: That he would not force any Man to take the Covenant, and would have the Privilege of his own Chapel to uſe the Common-Prayer, and obſerve the ſame Worſhip he had uſed to do; and that all Perſons, who deſired it, might have liberty to take the Covenant, and to uſe the Directory; in fine, he conſented to all that he had offer'd in that Engagement with reference to the Government of the Church; and likewiſe, "that Money ſhould be raiſed upon the ſale of the Church Lands, and only the old Rent ſhould be reſerv'd to the juſt owners and their Succeſſors. Theſe, with ſome other Conceſſions of leſs importance, which related to other Branches of the ſame Propoſition, *magna inter ſuſpiria*, he deliver'd to the Commiſſioners as his final Anſwer; which the Major part of them, did then believe would have preſerv'd his Majeſty from farther importunity and vexation in that particular.

The third Propoſition concerning the Militia.

THE next Propoſition was concerning the Militia; which was their Darling; and diſtinguiſhed the *Scots* from the *Engliſh* Presbyterians; the former never deſiring to invade that unqueſtionable Prerogative of the Crown; the latter being in truth as fond of it (and as refractory without it) as of Preſbytery it ſelf; and in that particular concurr'd even with *Cromwell*, and made little doubt of ſubduing him by it in a ſhort time. In this demand they exerciſed their uſual modeſty and to abridge the ſubſtance of it in few words, they required "a power to keep up the preſent Army, and to raiſe wha other Armies they pleaſed for the future; which gave them Authority over the Perſons of all Subjects, of what degree or quality ſoever. Secondly, a power to raiſe Money fo the uſe and maintenance of thoſe Forces, in ſuch a manner and by ſuch ways and means, as they ſhould think fit. And hereby they had had the diſpoſal of the Eſtates and Fortune of all Men without reſtaint, or limitation. Thirdly, "al Forces by Land and Sea to be managed, and diſpoſed a They ſhould think fit, and not otherwiſe. All this modeſt Power and Authority "muſt be granted to the Lords and Commons for twenty years. And, as if this had not been enough, they required farther, "that in all Caſes, when th

"Lord

'Lords and Commons ſhall declare the Safety of the Kingdom to be concern'd, unleſs the King give his Royal Aſſent to ſuch a Bill as ſhall be tender'd to him for raiſing Money, the Bill ſhall have the force of an Act of Parliament, as if he had given his Royal Aſſent.

THERE were other particulars included, of power to the City of *London* over the Militia, and for the Tower of *London*, of no importance to the King, if he once diſpoſed, and granted the other as was required, nor need he take care to whom the reſt belonged. Here the King was to conſider whether he would wholely grant it, or wholely deny it, or whether he might reaſonably hope ſo to limit it, that They might have Authority enough to pleaſe them, and He reſerve ome to himſelf for his own ſecurity. The King had thought with himſelf, upon revolving all Expedients, which he had too ong warning to ruminate upon, to propoſe "that the Inhabitants of every County ſhould be the ſtanding Militia of the Kingdom, to be drawn out of the Counties upon any occaſions which ſhould occur; which would prevent all exceſſive Taxes and Impoſitions, when they were to be paid by hemſelves. But he quickly diſcern'd that ſuch a Propoſition would be preſently called a Conſpiracy againſt the Army, and o put an end to all other Expedients. Then he thought of miting the extravagant Power in ſuch a manner, that it might ot appear ſo monſtrous to all intents and purpoſes whatſover; and therefore propoſed, "that none ſhould be compell'd to ſerve in the War againſt their Wills, but in caſe of an Invaſion by Forreign Enemies: That the Power concerning the Land Forces ſhould be exerciſed to no other purpoſes, than for the ſuppreſſing of Forces which might at any time be raiſed without the Authority and Conſent of the Lords and Commons, and for the keeping up, and maintaining the Forts and Garriſons, and the preſent Army, ſo long as it ſhould be thought fit by both Houſes of Parliament: That what Monies ſhould at any time be thought neceſſary to be raiſed, ſhould be raiſed by general and equal Taxes, and Impoſitions; and laſtly, that all Patents and Commiſſions to the purpoſes aforeſaid might be made in the King's Name, by Warrant ſignified by the Lords and Commons, or ſuch other ſignification as they ſhould direct, and authoriſe.

The King's Anſwer.

THESE Limitations were ſent to the Parliament, who, acording to the method they had aſſumed, ſoon Voted "that the Meſſage was unſatisfactory. Hereupon, that he might t leaſt leave ſome Monument and Record of his care and enderneſs of his People (for after his extorted Conceſſions to he ſo great prejudice of the Church, he never conſider'd what might

This Voted by the Parliament unſatisfactory.

might be dangerous to his own Perſon) he deliver'd his con-
ſent to the Propoſition it ſelf to the Commiſſioners, with a Pre-

The King conſents to it with a Preamble.

amble to this purpoſe; "that whereas their Propoſition con-
"cerning the Militia, required a far larger power over the Per-
"ſons and Eſtates of his Subjects, than had been ever hitherto
"warranted by the Laws and Statutes of the Kingdom, yet in
"regard the preſent diſtractions might require more, and truſt-
"ing in his two Houſes of Parliament, that they would make
"no farther uſe of the power therein mention'd, after the
"preſent diſtempers ſhould be ſettled, than ſhould be agree-
"able to the legal Exerciſe thereof in times paſt, and for the
"purpoſes particularly mention'd in their Propoſition, and to
"give ſatisfaction to his two Houſes of Parliament that he
"intends a full ſecurity to them, and to expreſs his real de-
"ſires to ſettle the Peace of the Kingdom, his Majeſty doth
"conſent to the Propoſition concerning the Militia as it was
"deſired. This the Commiſſioners did by no means like,
nor would acquieſce in, and alledged, "that as the Conceſ-
"ſion muſt be the Subject of an Act of Parliament, ſo this
"Preamble muſt be a part of it, and would adminiſter occa-
"ſion of difference and diſpute upon the interpretation of it
"which being ſo clearly foreſeen, ought not to be admitte
"in any Act of Parliament, much leſs in ſuch a one as is t
"be the principal Foundation of a laſting Peace of the King-
"dom. After much vexation of this kind, and importunity

At laſt conſents to it without the Preamble.

of Friends, as well as of Enemies, and being almoſt as wear
of denying as of granting, he ſuffer'd the Preamble to be lef
out, and his conſent to be deliver'd without it.

It may be well wonder'd at, that, after having ſo far com
plied with theſe three Propoſitions, there ſhould be any pauſ
or heſitation in the debate of the reſt. For in that concern
ing the Church, and the other concerning the Militia, bot
the Church and the Militia of *Ireland* follow'd the Fate o
England, and were in effect comprehended in the ſame Propo
ſitions: So that there remain'd nothing more with referenc

The fourth Propoſition concerning Ireland.

to that Kingdom, "but declaring the Peace that was mad
"there with the *Iriſh*, to be void; which they preſſed wit
the ſame paſſion, as if they had obtain'd nothing; althoug
his Majeſty referr'd the carrying on the War to them, an
told them, "that he knew nothing of the Peace, which ha
"been made during his Impriſonment, when he could re
"ceive no Advertiſement of what was doing, or done; an
"therefore he was content that it ſhould be broken, and th
"War be carried on in ſuch a manner as ſhould pleaſe Them
which was all one to their ends and purpoſes, as what the
deſired. But this did by no means pleaſe them. If the Pea
were not declared to be actually void, they could not ſo eaſi

tal

take that vengeance of the Marquis of *Ormond* as they reſolv'd to do. Yet after all theſe general conceſſions, which ſo much concern'd Himſelf, and the Publick, and when the neceſſity that had obliged him to that unwilling complyance, might well have excuſed him for ſatisfying them in all the reſt of their demands, when they preſſed his conſent to what only concern'd private and particular Perſons, as the revoking all Honours and Grants of Offices which he had conferr'd upon thoſe who had ſerv'd him faithfully, and to except many of them from Pardon, and leave them to the unmerciful cenſure of the two Houſes, both for their Lives and Fortunes; to ſubmit others to pay, for their Delinquency in obeying and ſerving him, a full moiety of all they were worth; to deprive others of their practice in their ſeveral Profeſſions, and Functions (which expoſed all the Lawyers and Divines, who had been faithful to him, to utter ruin) it cannot be expreſs'd with what grief, and trouble of mind he receiv'd thoſe importunities; and without doubt, he would at that time with much more willingneſs have died, than ſubmitted to it; but the Argument “that he had done ſo much, was now preſs'd upon him (by his Friends, and thoſe who were to receive as much prejudice as any by his doing it) “that he ſhould do more; and ſince he had condeſcended to many things which gave himſelf no ſatisfaction, he would give ſo full ſatisfaction to the Parliament, that He might receive that benefit, and the Kingdom that Peace and Security he deſired,

Some other particulars the King at firſt ſticks at:

MANY Advertiſements came from his Friends in ***London***, and from other places, “that it was high time that the Treaty were at an end, and that the Parliament had all his Majeſty's Anſwers before them, to determine what they would do upon them, before the Army drew nearer ***London***, which, infallibly, it would ſhortly do, aſſoon as thoſe in the North had finiſh'd their work. It was now near the end of *October*, and the appointed time for the concluſion of the Treaty was the fourth of *November*; and ſo after all importunities, as well of thoſe who were to ſuffer, as of thoſe who were to triumph in their ſufferings, his Majeſty's conſent was procured to moſt that was demanded in the reſt of the Propoſitions; the King, and all Men, conceiving the Treaty to be at an end.

But conſents at laſt.

THE King had, about the middle of *October*, again deliver'd his own Propoſition for his Liberty, his Revenue, and an Act of Oblivion, to the Commiſſioners; which they receiv'd. And though, at the beginning of the Treaty, they had refuſed to tranſmit it to the Houſes, yet now, after ſo many conceſſions, they thought fit to ſend it; and did ſo aſſoon as they receiv'd it. But no anſwer was return'd. Hereupon, when the Treaty was within two days of expiring, his

The Commiſſioners now ſend the King's own Propoſition to the Parliament.

Majeſty demanded of them, “whether they had receiv'd any “Inſtructions to treat upon, or to give an Anſwer to his own “Propoſition, which he had deliver'd to them ſo long ſince? “or whether they had receiv'd any Order to prolong the “Treaty? To which they Anſwer'd, “they had not as to “either. And when he asked them the ſame Queſtion, the very laſt hour of the limited time, they made the ſame Anſwer. So that the whole forty days aſſign'd for the Treaty were expired, before they vouchſafed to return any Anſwer to the ſingle Propoſition the King had made to them. However they told him, “they had receiv'd new Command to “make freſh inſtance to his Majeſty, that he would forthwith “publiſh a Declaration againſt the Marquis of *Ormond*; who “had very lately declared, that he had Authority to make a “Peace with the *Iriſh* Rebels; and was then treating with “them to that purpoſe. To which his Majeſty Anſwer'd “that it was not reaſonable to preſs him to publiſh any Decla“ration againſt the Marquis; ſince that if the Treaty ſhould “end happily, the deſires of the two Houſes were ſatisfied by “the Conceſſions he had already made; and ſo adhered to his firſt Anſwer. And conceiving the Treaty to be cloſed he deſired the Commiſſioners, “that ſince He had departed “from ſo much of his own Right to give his two Houſes ſa“tisfaction, They would be a means that he might be preſſed “no farther; ſince the few things he had not ſatisfied them “in, had ſo near relation to his Conſcience, that, with the “Peace of that, he could not yield farther; and deſired them “to uſe the ſame eloquence, and abilities, by which they had “prevailed with Him, in repreſenting to the two Houſes the “ſad condition of the Kingdom, if it were not preſerv'd by “this Treaty. And ſo concluded with many gracious expreſſions for their Perſonal civilities, and other kind Expreſſions; which made impreſſion upon all of them who had any Bowels.

They require a Declaration of the King againſt the Marquis of Ormond.

His Majeſty's Anſwer.

A LL this being paſt, and the King believing and expecting that the Commiſſioners would take their leave of him the next Morning, they came the ſame Night to inform him, “that they had then receiv'd new Orders and Inſtructions for “the continuing and enlarging the Treaty for fourteen days “longer; for which his Majeſty was nothing glad; nor did they in the Houſes who wiſhed well to him, deſire that Prolongation. For it was eaſily diſcern'd, that it was moved and proſecuted only by them who did not intend that the Treaty it ſelf ſhould have any good effect; which they were not yet ready and prepared enough to prevent, the Army not having yet finiſhed what they were to do in all places; and was conſented to unſkilfully, by thoſe who thought the continuance

The Parliament enlarges the Treaty 14 days longer.

The Commiſſioners renew their Demand about Ormond.

inuance of the Treaty was the beſt ſign that both ſides deſired Peace: and it quickly appear'd, by the new inſtances hey made, that delay was their only buſineſs. The Commiſſioners, with new importunity, and bitterneſs, begun upon heir new Inſtructions “that the King would immediately “publiſh the Declaration againſt the Marquis of *Ormond*, withut any other reaſons than thoſe which he had Anſwer'd beore. His Majeſty Anſwer'd, “there was no other difference “between them but in point of time, whether preſently, or “at the concluſion of the Peace: upon the Peace, they had “the ſubſtance of their deſire already granted; and if there “were no Peace, they had reaſon to believe that no Declaration he ſhould make would be believed or obeyed; and ſo dhered to what he had Anſwer'd formerly.

His Majeſty's Anſwer.

They urge farther about the Church.

THEN they declared, “that the Parliament was not ſatisfied with his Conceſſions with reference to the Church; that “the Presbyterian Government could be exerciſed with little profit, or comfort, if it ſhould appear to be ſo ſhort-liv'd “as to continue but for three years; and that they muſt therefore preſs the utter extirpating the Function of Biſhops. Then, the perfect and entire alienation of their Lands was inſiſted on; whereas by the King's Conceſſions, the old Rent was ſtill reſerv'd to them. They ſaid, “the Parliament “did not intend to force, but only to rectify his Conſcience; and, to that end, they added more reaſons to convince him in the ſeveral points. They repeated their old diſtinction between the Scripture-Biſhop, and the Biſhop by Law. For the abſolute alienation of their Lands, they urged many Precedents of what had been done in former times upon convenience, or neceſſity, not ſo viſible and manifeſt as appear'd at preſent; and concluded with their uſual threat, “that the conſequence of his denial would be the continuance of the publick diſturbances.

The King's Anſwer.

To all which his Majeſty Anſwer'd, “that, for the Preſbyterian Government, they might remember that their own “firſt Order for the ſettling it, was only for three years; “which they then thought a competent time for a Probationary Law, that contain'd ſuch an alteration in the State; and “therefore they ought to think the ſame now: and that it “might be longer lived than three years, if it would in that “time bear the teſt, and examination of it; and that nothing “could be a greater honour to that diſcipline, than its being “able to bear that teſt and examination. He ſaid, “he was “well pleaſed with their Expreſſion, that they did not intend “to force his Conſcience; yet the manner of preſſing him “looked very like it, after he had ſo ſolemnly declared that it “was againſt his Conſcience; that he did concur with them

“ in their diſtinction of Biſhops, and if they would preſerve “ the Scripture-Biſhop, he would take away the Biſhop by “ Law. He confeſſed, “ that Neceſſity might juſtify, or ex-“ cuſe many things, but it could never warrant him to deprive “ the Church of God of an Order inſtituted for continual uſe, “ and for eſtabliſhing a Succeſſion of Lawful Miniſters in the “ Church. For the point of Sacrilege, he ſaid, “ the concur-“ rent opinion of all Divines was a much better information “ to his Conſcience, what is Sacrilege, than any Precedents “ or Law of the Land could be. Upon the whole matter, he adhered to his former Anſwer in all the particulars, and concluded, “ that he could with more comfort caſt himſelf upon “ God's goodneſs to ſupport him in, and defend him from al “ Afflictions, how great ſoever, that might befal him, than “ deprive himſelf of the inward tranquillity of his mind, fo “ any Politick conſideration that might ſeem to be a means t “ reſtore him.

The Parliament's Votes upon the King's former Propoſition.

It muſt not be forgotten, that the laſt day, when the Treat was to end, they deliver'd to the King the Votes which th two Houſes had paſſed concerning and upon his own Meſſag (which had lain ſo long in their hands unanſwer'd) whic were in effect, 1. “ That from and after ſuch time as th “ Agreements upon this Treaty ſhould be ratified by Acts o “ Parliament, all his Houſes, Mannors, and Lands, with th “ growing Rents and Profits thereof, and all other Legal Re-“ venue of the Crown ſhould be reſtored to him, liable to th “ maintenance of thoſe Ancient Forts, and Caſtles, and ſuc “ other Legal Charges as they were formerly charged witha “ or liable to. 2. That he ſhould be then likewiſe reſettle “ in a condition of Honour, Freedom, and Safety, agreeable t “ the Laws of the Land. 3. That an Act of Indemnity ſhoul “ be then paſſed with ſuch exceptions and limitations as ſhoul “ be agreed upon, with this addition, that it ſhould be de-“ clared by Act of Parliament, that nothing contain'd in hi “ Majeſty's Propoſitions ſhould be underſtood or made uſe o “ to abrogate, weaken, or in any degree to impair any Agree-“ ment in this Treaty, or any Law, Grant, or Commiſſio “ agreed upon by his Majeſty and the two Houſes of Par-“ liament, in purſuance thereof; in all which his Majeſty ac-“ quieſced.

Another Prolongation of the Treaty till Nov. 25.

The time limited for the Prolongation of the Treaty wa to end upon the one and twentieth of *November*, and th Commiſſioners believ'd it ſo abſolutely concluded, that the took their leave of the King, and early the next Mornin went to *Cows* Harbour to Embark themſelves. But the Tyd not ſerving to Tranſport them out of the Iſland, that Nigh a Meſſenger arriv'd with Directions to them to continue th

Treaty till the five and twentieth; which was four days more. So, the three and twentieth, they return'd and acquainted his Majeſty with it.

The Declaration of th Army.

At the ſame time, the thundring Declaration of the Army was publiſhed; which declared the full reſolution "to change "the whole frame of the Government, and that they would "be contented with no leſs an alteration; which, as it was an Argument to the King to endeavour all he could to unite the two Houſes, that they might be able to bear that ſhock, ſo it was expected that it would have been no leſs an Argument to have prevailed with them to adhere to the King, ſince Their Intereſt was no leſs threaten'd than His.

The Commiſſioners new Propoſitions againſt Delinquents ſince Jan. 47. *and others, eſpecially the Marquis of* Ormond.

The King's Anſwer.

THE freſh inſtances the Commiſſioners made, were upon ſeveral Votes which had paſſed the two Houſes againſt Delinquents; and a new Propoſition concerning thoſe who had engaged themſelves againſt the Parliament ſince the laſt *January*, and particularly againſt the Marquis of *Ormond*. They propoſed, "that there ſhould be ſeven Perſons, the "Lord *New-Caſtle*, and ſix others (who were named) "who "ſhould be excepted from pardon, and their Eſtates for"feited: that the Delinquents, in the ſeveral Claſſes men"tion'd in their Propoſition, ſhould pay for their Compoſi"tion, ſome a Moiety, others a third part of their Eſtates, and "other Rates, as they were ſet down; and that all who had "been engaged in the Land or Sea-Service ſince *January* 1647, "ſhould pay a full years value of their whole Eſtates more "than the other Delinquents; and that none who had been "againſt the Parliament ſhould preſume to come within either "of the Courts belonging to the King, Queen, or Prince, or "be capable of any Office or Preferment, or of ſerving in Par"liament, for the ſpace of three years; and that all Clergy Men "who had been againſt the Parliament, ſhould be deprived "of all their Preferments, Places, and Promotions; which "ſhould be all void as if they were naturally dead. To theſe the King Anſwer'd, that, "to the excepting the ſeven Per"ſons named from Pardon, and the forfeiture of their Eſtates, "his Anſwer was, that, if they were proceeded againſt ac"cording to the ancient eſtabliſhed Laws, and could not ju"ſtify and defend themſelves, he would not interpoſe on their "behalf; but he could not, in juſtice or honour, joyn him"ſelf in any Act for taking away the Life or Eſtate of any that "had adhered to him. For the Rates which were to be paid "for Compoſition, he referr'd it to the two Houſes of Parlia"ment, and to the Perſons themſelves, who would be con"tented to pay it; and he did hope and deſire, that they "might be moderately dealt with. And for the Clergy Men, "whoſe Preferments he well knew were already diſpoſed of, and in the hands of another kind of Clergy, who had deſerv'd ſo well of the Parliament, that it would not be in his power to diſpoſſeſs them, his Majeſty deſired, “ that they might be “ allowed a third part of what was taken from them, till ſuch “ time that they, or the preſent Incumbents, ſhould be better provided for. As to the Marquis of *Ormond*, againſt whom they preſſed what they had before done with extraordinary Animoſity, the King Anſwer'd, “ that ſince what he “ had ſaid before (and which would bring all to paſs that they deſired) “ did not give them ſatisfaction, he had written a “ Letter (which he deliver'd to them, to be ſent, and read to them) “ in which he directed him to deſiſt; and ſaid, if he “ refuſed to ſubmit to his Command, he would then publiſh “ ſuch a Declaration againſt his power and his proceedings, as “ they deſired.

Another rolongation the Treaty r a day, herein they eſent two ropoſitions ore.

AND now the ſecond limitation of time for the Treaty was at an end. But that Night came another Vote; which continued it for a day longer, with a Command to the Commiſſioners to return on *Thurſday* Morning; which was the eight and twentieth of *November*: and thereupon they preſented two Propoſitions to his Majeſty, which were to be diſpatched that day.

ne concern- g Scot- nd.

THE two Propoſitions they ſent for one days work, were, the firſt, concerning *Scotland*; the other, concerning the Church; which they did not think they had yet deſtroyed enough. For *Scotland*, they demanded “ the King's conſent, “ to confirm by Act of Parliament ſuch Agreements as ſhould “ be made by both Houſes with that Kingdom, in the ſecurity “ of ſuch thereof who had aſſiſted or adhered to thoſe of the “ Parliament of *England*, and for the ſettling and preſerving a “ happy and durable Peace between the two Nations, and for “ the mutual defence of each other. The King put them in mind, “ that at the beginning of the Treaty they had inform'd “ him, that their Commiſſion was only to treat concerning “ *England*, and *Ireland*; and that they had no Authority to “ meddle in any thing that related to *Scotland*; and that they “ had thereupon refuſed to receive a Paper from him, which “ was to preſerve the Intereſt of that Kingdom; and demanded of them, whether their Commiſſion was enlarged; which they confeſs'd “ was not; and that they had preſented that “ Paper only in obedience to the Order they had receiv'd. So that the King eaſily underſtood that the end was only that they might have occaſion to publiſh, “ that the King had rejected whatſoever was tender'd to him on the behalf of the “ Kingdom of *Scotland*. To prevent which, he Anſwer'd, “ that as he would joyn in any Agreement, to be confirm'd “ by Act of Parliament, for the ſettling and preſerving a happy

o that the ing's An- wer.

“and durable Peace between the two Nations, and for their
“mutual defence of each other under him as King of both;
“ſo he would ſecure all who had been formerly engaged with
“them; but for any new Engagement, or Confederacy, which
“they would make hereafter, he would firſt know what it was,
“and be adviſed with in the making it, before he would pro-
“miſe to confirm it. The other buſineſs with reference to
the Church gave him much more trouble. The Commiſſio-
ners preſs'd him “to conſider the Exigence of time, and that
“there was not a whole day left to determine the Fate of the
“Kingdom; and that nothing could unite the Counſels of
“thoſe who wiſhed and deſired Peace, and to live happily un-
“der his Subjection and obedience, againſt the bold attempts
“of the Army, which had enough declared and manifeſted
“what their intention was, but ſatisfying the Houſes fully in
“what they demanded in that particular. His own Council,
and the Divines, beſought him “to conſider the ſafety of his
“own Perſon, even for the Church's and his People's ſakes,
“who had ſome hope ſtill left whilſt He ſhould be preſerv'd,
“which could not but be attended with many Bleſſings:
“whereas, if He were deſtroyed, there was ſcarce a poſſibility
“to preſerve them: that the moral and unavoidable neceſſity
“that lay upon him, obliged him to do any thing that was
“not Sin; and that, upon the moſt prudential thoughts which
“occurr'd to them, the Order which He, with ſo much Piety
“and Zeal, endeavour'd to preſerve, was much more like to
“be deſtroyed by his not complying, than by his ſuſpending
“it till his Majeſty and his two Houſes ſhould agree upon a
“future Government; which, they ſaid, much differ'd from
“an abolition of it.

The other touching the Church.

The King's final Anſwer.

HEREUPON he gave them his final Anſwer, “that after
“ſuch condeſcenſions, and weighed reſolutions in the buſineſs
“of the Church, he had expected not to be farther preſs'd
“therein; it being his judgement, and his conſcience. He ſaid,
“he could not, as he was then inform'd, aboliſh Epiſcopacy
“out of the Church; yet, becauſe he apprehended how fatal
“new diſtractions might be to the Kingdom, and that he be-
“liev'd his two Houſes would yield to truth, if it were made
“manifeſt to them, as he had always declared that he would
“comply with their Demands, if he were convinced in his
“Conſcience, he did therefore again deſire a Conſultation
“with Divines, in the manner he had before propoſed, and
“would in the mean time ſuſpend the Epiſcopal power, as
“well in point of Ordination of Miniſters, as of Juriſdiction,
“till He and the two Houſes ſhould agree what Government
“ſhould be eſtabliſh'd for the future. For Biſhop's Lands, he
“could not conſent to the abſolute alienation of them from the

"Church, but would conſent that Leaſes for Lives, or Years, "not exceeding ninety nine, ſhould be made for the ſatiſ-"faction of Purchaſers or Contractors; little differing from the Anſwer he had formerly given to this laſt particular: and in all the reſt he adhered to his former Anſwers. And the Commiſſioners, having receiv'd this his final Anſwer, took their leaves, and the next Morning begun their Journey towards *London*.

he Sum of e King's etter to his on concern- g the whole reaty.

THE King had begun a Letter to the Prince his Son before the firſt forty days were expired, and continued it, as the Treaty was lengthen'd, even to the hour it was concluded, and finiſhed it the nine and twentieth of *November* after the Commiſſioners were departed, and with it ſent a very exact Copy of all the Papers which had paſſed in the Treaty, in the order in which they were paſſed, fairly engroſſed by one of the Clerks who attended. But the Letter it ſelf was all in his own hand, and contain'd above ſix Sheets of Paper; in which he made a very particular relation of all the motives and reaſons which had prevailed with him, or over him, to make thoſe Conceſſions; out of which moſt of this relation is extracted. And it is almoſt evident, that the Major part of both Houſes of Parliament was, at that time, ſo far from deſiring the execution of all thoſe Conceſſions, that, if they had been able to have reſiſted the wild fury of the Army, they would have been themſelves Suitors to have declined the greateſt part of them. That which ſeem'd to afflict him moſt, next what referr'd to the Church and Religion, and which, he ſaid, "had a large ſhare in his conſcientious conſiderations, was the hard meaſure his Friends were ſubjected to; for whoſe Intereſt he did verily believe he ſhould better provide in the execution of the Treaty, than he had been able to do in the Preliminaries. For, he ſaid, "he could not but think, "that all who were willing that he ſhould continue their "King, and to live under his Government, would be far "from deſiring in the concluſion to leave ſo foul a Brand "upon his Party, of which they would all deſire to be ac-"counted for the time to come. However, he hoped that "all his Friends would conſider, not what he had ſubmitted "to, but how much he had endeavour'd to relieve them from; and conjured the Prince his Son, "that the leſs he had been "able himſelf to do for them, the more, if God bleſſed him, "He ſhould acknowledge and ſupply. He ſaid, "he would "willingly forget in how high degree ſome Subjects had been "diſloyal, but never had Prince a Teſtimony in others of "more Loyalty than He had had; and however that God, "for their, and his puniſhment, had not bleſſed ſome of their "Endeavours, yet, he ſaid, more miſguided Perſons were at “laſt reduced to their Loyalty, than could in any ſtory be “exampled; and that, by that, Subjects might learn how “dangerous the neglect of ſeaſonable duty is; and that Men “cannot eaſily fix when they pleaſe what they have unneceſ“ſarily ſhaken. The concluſion of the Letter, as it was dated, the five and twentieth of *November* (what was added to it after, till the nine and twentieth, was but the additional paſſages upon the enlargement of time) deſerves to be preſerv’d in Letters of Gold, and gives the beſt Character of that excellent Prince; and was in theſe words.

The Conclu ſion of that Letter in th King’s own words.

“By what hath been ſaid, you ſee how long We have la“bour’d in the ſearch of Peace: do not You be diſhearten’d “to tread in the ſame ſteps. Uſe all worthy ways to reſtore “your ſelf to your Right, but prefer the way of Peace: ſhew “the greatneſs of your mind, if God bleſs you (and let Us “comfort you with that which is our own Comfort, that “though Affliction may make us paſs under the cenſures of “Men, yet we look upon it ſo, as if it procure not, by “God’s Mercy, to Us a Deliverance, it will to You a bleſſing) “rather to conquer your Enemies by pardoning, than puniſh“ing. If You ſaw how unmanly and unchriſtian the im“placable diſpoſition is in our ill-Willers, you would avoid “that Spirit. Cenſure Us not for having parted with ſo much “of our own Right; the price was great, but the commodity “was ſecurity to Us, Peace to our People: and we were con“fident, another Parliament would remember how uſeful a “King’s power is to a People’s liberty; of how much thereof “We deveſted Our ſelf, that We and They might meet once “again in a due Parliamentary way, to agree the bounds of “Prince and People. And in this give belief to our Expe“rience, never to affect more Greatneſs or Prerogative, than “that which is really and intrinſically for the Good of Sub“jects, not the ſatisfaction of Favourites. If you thus uſe it, “you will never want means to be a Father to all, and a “bountiful Prince to any you would be extraordinary gracious “to. You may perceive all Men entruſt their Treaſure where “it returns them Intereſt; and if Princes, like the Sea, re“ceive, and repay all the freſh ſtreams the River entruſts with “them, they will not grudge, but pride themſelves to make “them up an Ocean. Theſe conſiderations may make You “as great a Prince, as your Father is now a low one; and “Your State may be ſo much the more eſtabliſh’d, as Mine “hath been ſhaken. For our Subjects have learn’d (we dare “ſay) that Victories over their Princes are but Triumphs over “themſelves; and ſo will be more unwilling to hearken to “changes hereafter. The *Engliſh* Nation are a ſober People, “however at preſent infatuated.

"We know not but this may be the laſt time We may "ſpeak to you, or the World, publickly: We are ſenſible "into what hands We are fallen; and yet, We bleſs God, "We have thoſe inward refreſhments the Malice of our Ene-"mies cannot perturb. We have learn'd to buſy Our ſelf by "retiring into Our ſelf; and therefore can the better digeſt "what befalls Us; not doubting but God's Providence will "reſtrain Our Enemies power, and turn their Fierceneſs to "his Praiſe.

"To conclude, if God gives you Succeſs, uſe it humbly "and far from Revenge. If He reſtore you to your Right "upon hard Conditions, whatever you promiſe, keep. Theſe "Men, who have forced Laws, which they were bound to "preſerve, will find their Triumphs full of Troubles. Do not "think any thing in this World worth the obtaining by ſoul "and unjuſt means.

"You are the Son of our Love, and as We direct you to "weigh what We here recommend to you, ſo We aſſure "you, We do not more affectionately pray for you (to whom "We are a Natural Parent) than We do, that the ancient "Glory and Renown of this Nation be not buried in Irreli-"gion and Phanatick Humour; and that all our Subjects (to "whom We are a Politick Parent) may have ſuch ſober "thoughts, as to ſeek their Peace in the Orthodox profeſſion "of the Chriſtian Religion, as was eſtabliſhed ſince the Re-"formation in this Kingdom, and not in new Revelations; "and that the ancient Laws, with the interpretation according "to the known practice, may once again be a hedge about "Them: that You may in due time govern, and They be "govern'd, as in the fear of God; which is the prayer of

"Your very loving Father C. R.

Newport 25th *Nov.* 1648.

Whilst the Treaty laſted, it was believ'd that his Majeſty might have made his eſcape; which moſt Men who wiſhed him well, thought in all reſpects ought to have been attempted; and before the Treaty, he himſelf was inclined to it, thinking any Liberty preferable to the reſtraint he had endured. But he did receive ſome diſcouragement from purſuing that purpoſe, which both diverted him from it, and gave him great trouble of mind. It cannot be imagin'd how wonderfully fearful ſome Perſons in *France* were that he ſhould have made his Eſcape, and the dread they had of his coming thither; which, without doubt, was not from want of tenderneſs to his ſafety, but from the apprehenſion they had, that the little reſpect they would have ſhewed him there, would have been a greater mortification to him than all that he could ſuffer by the cloſeſt impriſonment. And ſure there was, at that time, no Court in *Chriſtendom* ſo honourably, or generouſly conſtituted, that it would have been glad to have ſeen him; and it might be ſome reaſon that they who wiſhed him very well, did not wiſh his Eſcape, becauſe they believ'd Impriſonment was the worſt his worſt Enemies intended towards him; ſince they might that way more reaſonably found, and ſettle their Republican Governmenr; which Men could not ſo prudently propoſe to bring to paſs by a Murther; which, in the inſtant, gave the juſt Title to another who was at liberty to claim his Right, and to diſpute it: I ſay, before the Treaty, and after the Votes and Declarations of no more Addreſſes, when his Treatment was ſo barbarous, his Majeſty had propoſed to himſelf to make an Eſcape, and was very near the perfecting it. He had none about him but ſuch Perſons who were placed by thoſe who wiſhed worſt to his Safety; and therefore choſe ſuch Inſtruments as they thought to be of their own Principles. Amongſt thoſe there was a young Man, one *Osborne*, by extraction a Gentleman; who was recommended by the Lord *Wharton* (one who deſerv'd not to be ſuſpected by *Cromwell* himſelf) to Colonel *Hammond*, to be placed in ſome near attendance about the King; and he, from the recommendation, never doubting the fitneſs of the Man, immediately appointed him to wait as Gentleman Uſher; which gave him opportunity to be almoſt always in the preſence of the King. This young Man, after ſome Months attendance, was wrought upon by the dignity of the King's Carriage, and the great Affability he uſed towards thoſe who were always about him, to have a tenderneſs and loyal Senſe of his Sufferings; and did really deſire to do him any Service that might be acceptable. By his Office of Gentleman Uſher he uſually held the King's Gloves when he was at Meat, and firſt took that opportunity to put a little Billet, in which he expreſs'd his Devotion, into one of the fingers of his Glove. The King was not forward to be credulous of the Profeſſions of a Perſon he knew ſo little, and who, he knew, would not be ſuffer'd to be about him, if he were thought to have thoſe Inclinations. However, after longer obſervation, and ſometimes ſpeaking to him whilſt he was walking amongſt others in the Garden allow'd for that purpoſe, his Majeſty begun to believe that there was ſincerity in him; and ſo frequently put ſome Memorial into fingers of his Glove, and by the ſame expedient receiv'd advertiſement from him.

THERE was in the Garriſon one *Rolph*, a Captain of a Foot Company, whom *Cromwell* placed there as a prime Confident, a Fellow of a low Extraction, and very ordinary parts;

who, from a Common Soldier, had been truſted in all the intriegues of the Army, and was one of the Agitators inſpired by *Cromwell* to put any thing into the Soldiers minds, upon whom he had a wonderful Influence, and could not contain himſelf from ſpeaking maliciouſly and wickedly againſt the King, when diſſimulation was at the higheſt amongſt the great Officers. This Man grew into great familiarity with *Osborne*, and knowing from what Perſon he came recommended to that Truſt, could not doubt but that he was well inclined to any thing that might advance him; and ſo, according to his cuſtom of reviling the King, he wiſhed “he “were out of the World; for they ſhould never make any “Settlement whilſt he was alive. He ſaid, he was ſure the “Army wiſhed him dead, and that *Hammond* had receiv'd “many Letters from the Army to take Him away by Poyſon, “or any other way; but he ſaw it would never be done in “that place; and therefore, if he would joyn with him, they “would get Him from thence; and then the work would eaſily be done. *Osborne* asked him, “how it could be poſſi-“ble to remove Him from thence, without *Hammond*'s, or “the King's own conſent? *Rolph* Anſwer'd, “that the King “might be decoy'd from thence, as he was from *Hampton* “Court, by ſome Letters from his Friends, of ſome danger “that threaten'd him, upon which he would be willing to “make an Eſcape; and then he might eaſily be diſpatched. *Osborne* ſhortly found an opportunity to inform the King of all this.

In Attempt r the ing's ſcape.

THE King bid him “continue his familiarity with *Rolph*, “and to promiſe to joyn with him in contriving how his Ma-“jeſty ſhould make an Eſcape; and he hoped thereby to make *Rolph*'s Villany the means of getting away He recommended one of the Common Soldiers to *Osborne*, “who, he ſaid, he thought, might be truſted; and wiſhed him “to truſt “one *Doucet*; whom the King had known before, and who was then placed to wait upon him at his back ſtairs, and was indeed an honeſt Man; for it was impoſſible for him to make an Eſcape, without the privity of ſuch Perſons, who might provide for him, when he was got out of the Caſtle, as well as help him from thence. *Osborne* told *Rolph*, “he was confident “he ſhould in the end perſwade the King to attempt an “Eſcape, though he yet ſeem'd jealous and apprehenſive of be-“ing diſcover'd, and taken again. *Doucet* concurr'd very willingly in it, and the Soldier who was choſen by the King, prov'd likewiſe very honeſt, and wrought upon one or two of his Companions who uſed to ſtand Sentinels at the place where the King intended to get out. All things were provided; and the King had a File, and Saw; with which he had, with wonderful trouble, ſaw'd an Iron Bar in the Window, by which he could be able to get out; and being in this readineſs, the Night was appointed, and *Osborne* at the place where he was to receive the King. But one of the Soldiers inform'd *Rolph* of more particulars than *Osborne* had done, by which he concluded that he was falſe, and directed the Soldier to proceed, and ſtand Sentinel in the ſame place to which he had been aſſign'd; and he, and ſome others truſted by him, were Arm'd, and ſtood very near with their Piſtols. At midnight the King came to the Window, reſolving to go out; but as he was putting himſelf out, he diſcern'd more Perſons to ſtand thereabout than uſed to do, and thereupon ſuſpected that there was ſome diſcovery made; and ſo ſhut the Window, and retired to his Bed. And this was all the ground of a diſcourſe, which then flew abroad, as if the King had got half out at the Window, and could neither draw his Body after, nor get his Head back, and ſo was compell'd to call out for help; which was a meer fiction.

ROLPH acquainted *Hammond* with what the King had deſign'd; who preſently went into his Chamber, and found the King in his Bed, but the Bar of the Window cut in two, and taken out; by which he concluded his information to be true; and preſently ſeiſed upon *Doucet*, but could not apprehend *Osborne*; who was either fled out of the Iſland, or conceal'd in it that he could not be found. *Rolph* could not forbear to inſult upon *Doucet* in Priſon, and ſcornfully asked him, " why his King came not forth when he was at the Window? and ſaid, " he was ready with a good Piſtol charg'd " to have receiv'd him. When *Osborne* had got into a place of preſent ſafety, he writ a Letter to his Patron the Lord *Wharton*, informing him of the whole matter; and deſired him, " to acquaint the Houſe of Peers of the deſign upon the " King's Life, and that he would be ready to appear and juſtify the Conſpiracy. That Lord, after he had kept the Letter ſome time, ſent it to *Hammond*, as the fitteſt Perſon to examine the truth of the Relation. *Osborne* was not diſcouraged with all this; but ſent two Letters to the Speakers of both Houſes, and incloſed the Letter he had formerly writ to the Lord *Wharton*. In the Houſe of Commons the information was ſlighted, and laid aſide; but it made more impreſſion upon the Houſe of Peers; who ſent, with more than ordinary earneſtneſs, to the Commons, " that *Rolph* might be " ſent for, and a Safe-guard for forty days to *Osborne* to appear, and proſecute.

Osborne *accuſes* Rolph *for a deſign upon the King's Life.*

ROLPH brought with him a large Teſtimonial from *Hammond* of " his Integrity, and of the many good Services he " had done to the State. *Osborne* appear'd likewiſe at the

Lords Bar, and made good upon Oath all that is before ſe down, and undertook to produce other Evidence. The Houſ of Commons had no mind to have it examin'd farther, bu the clamour of the People was ſo great, that, after many delays, they Voted "that it ſhould be try'd at the General Aſſizes at *Wincheſter*. And thither they ſent their well try' Serjeant *Wild*, to be the ſole Judge of that Circuit: befor whom the Major part of the ſame Jury that had found Captain *Burley* guilty, was impannell'd for the Tryal of *Rolp* *Osborne*, and *Doucet*, who upon Bail had liberty to be there appear'd to make good the Indictment; and, upon their Oaths declared all that *Rolph* had ſaid to them, as is ſet down before The Priſoner, if he may be call'd a Priſoner who was unde no reſtraint, had two Lawyers aſſign'd to be of Council wit him, contrary to the Law and Cuſtom in thoſe Caſes; bu he needed not to have had any Council but the Judge himſelf; who told the Jury, "that it was a buſineſs of great importance that was before them; and therefore that the "ſhould take heed what they did in it: that there Was "time indeed when Intentions and Words were Treaſon, bu "God forbid it ſhould be ſo now: how did any body kno "but that thoſe two Men, *Osborne* and *Doucet*, would hav "made away the King, and that *Rolph* charg'd his Piſtol t "preſerve him? or, perhaps they would have carried hi "away to have engaged them in a ſecond War. He to them, "they were miſtaken who did believe the King i "Priſon; the Parliament did only keep him ſafe to ſave th "ſhedding of more Blood. Upon theſe good directions, th Grand Jury found an *Ignoramus* upon the Bill; and this wa ſome little time before the Treaty.

The Commiſſioners report of the Treaty to the Parliament.

WHEN the Commiſſioners who had treated with the Kin at the Iſle of *Wight*, were return'd to the Parliament, the report took up many days in the Houſe of Commons, whe the Reſolution was firſt to be taken; which commonly w final, the Lords rarely preſuming to contradict what the othe thought fit to determine. The Queſtion upon the whole wa "whether the Anſwer that the King had made to their Pr "poſitions, was ſatisfactory? which was debated with all t Virulence, and Acrimony towards each other, that can f from Men ſo poſſeſſed as both ſides were.

A long and ſharp Debate upon it.

Sr Harry Vane's Speech concerning it.

YOUNG Sr *Harry Vane* had begun the Debate with t higheſt Inſolence, and Provocation; telling them, "that th "ſhould that day know and diſcover, who were their Frien "and who were their Foes; or, that he might ſpeak mo "plainly, who were the King's Party in the Houſe, and wh "were for the People; and ſo proceeded with his uſual gra bitterneſs againſt the Perſon of the King, and the Gover

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ment that had been too long Settled; put them in mind, “that they had been diverted from their old ſettled Reſolution and Declaration, that they would make no more Addreſſes to the King; after which the Kingdom had been govern'd in great Peace, and begun to taſt the ſweet of that Republican Government which they intended and begun to eſtabliſh, when, by a Combination between the City of *London* and an ill affected Party in *Scotland*, with ſome ſmall contemptible Inſurrections in *England*, all which were fomented by the City, the Houſes had, by clamour and noiſe, been induced and compell'd to reverſe their former Votes and Reſolution, and enter into a Perſonal Treaty with the King; with whom they had not been able to prevail, notwithſtanding the low Condition he was in, to give them any ſecurity; but he had ſtill reſerv'd a power in himſelf, or at leaſt to his Poſterity, to exerciſe as Tyrannical a Government as he had done: that all the Inſurrections, which had ſo terrified them, where now totally ſubdued; and the principal Authors and Abettors of them in their Cuſtody, and ready to be brought to Juſtice, if they pleaſed to direct, and appoint it: that their Enemies in *Scotland* were reduced, and that Kingdom entirely devoted to a firm and good correſpondence with their Brethren, the Parliament of *England*; ſo that there was nothing wanting, but their own Conſent and Reſolution, to make themſelves the happieſt Nation and People in the World; and to that purpoſe deſired, that they might, without any more loſs of time, return to their former Reſolution of making no more Addreſſes to the King; but proceed to the ſettling the Government without him, and to the ſevere puniſhment of thoſe who had diſturbed their peace and quiet, in ſuch an exemplary manner, as might terrify all other Men for the future from making the like bold attempts: which, he told them, they might ſee would be moſt grateful to their Army, which had merited ſo much from them by the Remonſtrance they had ſo lately publiſh'd.

THIS diſcourſe appear'd to be exceedingly diſliked, by that kind of Murmur which uſually ſhews how the Houſe ſtands inclined, and by which Men make their judgements there, of the ſucceſs that is like to be. And his Preface, and Entrance into the Debate, were taken notice of with equal ſharpneſs; and, “his preſumption in taking upon himſelf to divide the Houſe, and to cenſure their Affections to the Publick, as their ſenſe and judgement ſhould agree, or diſagree with his own. One ſaid, “that ſince he had, without Example, taken ſo much upon him, he was not to take it ill, if the contrary was aſſumed by other Men; and that it was as law-

“ful for another Man, who ſaid he was no gainer by th “Troubles, to make another Diviſion of the Houſe, and t “ſay, that they ſhould find in the Debate of that day tha “there were ſome who were deſirous of Peace; and that The “were all loſers, or, at leaſt, no gainers by the War; an “that others were againſt Peace; and that They by the Wa “had gained large Revenues, and great Sums of Money, an “much Wealth; and therefore his Motion was, that th “Gainers might contribute to the Loſers, if they would no “conſent that the one might enjoy what was left, and th “other poſſeſs what they had got, by a Peace that might b “happy for both.

The large Remonſtrance of the Army brought to the Houſe by ſix Officers.

WHILST this was debating in the Houſe, which continued ſeveral days, ſix Officers, from the head Quarters a *Windſor*, whither the Army had been brought before, or a the time when the Treaty ended at the Iſle of *Wight*, brough their large Remonſtrance to the Houſe; in which they deſired, “that there might be no farther proceedings upon th “Treaty; but that they would return to their former determination of no farther Addreſſes, and make what haſt the “could in ſettling the Government: that the bargaining Propoſition on the behalf of Delinquents, which was only upo “a Contract with the King, and not in any Judicial way “might be laid aſide; and that publick Juſtice might be don “upon the principal Actors in the late Troubles, and tha “others, upon a true ſubmiſſion, might find Mercy: that “peremptory day might be ſet, when the Prince of *Wales*, an “the Duke of *York*, ſhould be required to appear; which “they ſhould not do, they ſhould ſtand exiled as Traitors “and if they ſhould appear, yet they ſhould be bound to mak “ſome ſatisfaction: that an end might be put to this Parliament, and a new Repreſentative choſen of the People, fo “the governing and preſerving the whole Body of the Nation. That no King might be hereafter admitted but upo “Election of the People, and as upon truſt for the Peopl “who ſhould be likewiſe limited and reſtrain'd by the Repreſentative, with many other impracticable Particular which troubled the Parliament the leſs for their incoherenc and impoſſibility to be reduced into practice.

The King taken from Cariſbrooke *Caſtle and carried to* Hurſt *Caſtle.*

BUT that which troubled moſt, and indeed which awaken' them to the moſt diſmal apprehenſions, was, that they wer advertiſed, that the King was taken away from *Cariſbrook* Caſtle by an Officer of the Army, and carried to *Hurſt* Caſtl not far from the other, but Situated on the main Land, an in ſo vile and unwholeſome an Air, that the Common Guar there uſed to be frequently changed for the preſervation their health. Colonel *Hammond* had, before the expiration

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he Treaty, writ many Letters to the Parliament, to be diſcharged from that Government, and from the care of the King's Perſon; and the Officers of the Army ſeem'd wonderfully offended with him for making the demand; and he got himſelf looked upon as under a Cloud. But the Treaty was no ſooner ended (and before the Commiſſioners begun their Report to the Houſes) but he was diſcharged of the Truſt of the Perſon of the King, and another Colonel ſent to take he Perſon of the King, and to carry him to *Hurſt* Caſtle.

THIS News being brought when they were in the heat of he Debate upon the King's Anſwer, they gave over that conteſt, and immediately Voted, "that the ſeiſing upon the King's Perſon, and carrying him Priſoner to *Hurſt* Caſtle, was without Their advice and conſent: which Vote had little contradiction, becauſe no Man would own the Advice. Then hey cauſed a Letter to be written to the General, "that the Orders and Inſtructions to Colonel *Ewre* (the Officer who had ſeiſed the King) "were contrary to their Reſolutions, and Inſtructions to Colonel *Hammond*; and therefore, that it was the pleaſure of the Houſe, that he ſhould recal thoſe Orders; and that Colonel *Hammond* ſhould again reſume the care of the King's Perſon. But the General, without taking any notice of their Complaint, or of their Command, demanded the payment of the Arrears due to the Army; and told them, "that unleſs there were preſent Money ſent to that purpoſe, he ſhould be forced to remove the Army, and to draw them nearer to *London*. And at the ſame time a new Declaration was ſent to the Houſe from the Army, in purſuance of their late Remonſtrance; which the Houſe refuſed to take into conſideration; and ſome ſturdy Members moved, "that the Army might be declared Traitors, if they preſumed to march nearer *London* than they were at preſent; and that an impeachment of High Treaſon might be drawn up againſt the principal Officers of it. Hereupon, he General marches directly for *London*, and Quarters at *White-Hall*; the other Officers, with their Troops, in *Durham* Houſe, the *Mues*, *Covent* Garden, *Weſtminſter*, and St *James's*; and for the preſent neceſſity, that no inconvenience might fall out, they ſent to the City without delay to ſupply forty thouſand pounds, to be immediately iſſued out to ſatisfy he Army. Notwithſtanding all which monſtrous proceeding, the Houſe of Commons retained it's Courage, and were reſolute "to aſſert the Treaty; and that the King's Anſwers were ſatisfactory; or if they were not fully ſatisfactory, that the Houſe might, and ought to accept thereof, and proceed to the ſettlement of Peace in Church and State, rather "than

Vote of the Houſe of Commons thereupon.

Another Declaration of the Army ſent to the Houſe.

The General marches for London.

"than to reject them as unſatisfactory, and thereby continue "the Kingdom in War and Diſtraction.

THEY who vehemently preſſed this Concluſion, and would be thought to be for the King, to make themſelves popular, took upon them to make all the Invectives both againſt the King, and all the time of his Government, that his bittereſt Enemies could do, only that they might ſhew how much the conceſſions he had now granted, had provided Remedies for all thoſe Evils, and made all the foundation of their future hope of happineſs and peace, to be in the no power they had left him in: ſo that if he ſhould have a mind to continue the Diſtractions to morrow, he would find no Body ready ever to joyn with him, having at this time ſacrificed all his Friends to the Mercy of their mortal Enemies. In concluſion, and when they had proſecuted the Debate moſt part of the Night, till almoſt five of the Clock in the Morning, on *Monday* Night, they had firſt put the Queſtion, "whether the Que"ſtion ſhould be put? and carried it by a hundred and forty Voices againſt one hundred and four: the main Queſtion, "That the Anſwer of the King to the Propoſitions of both "Houſes was a ground for the Houſes to proceed upon for the "ſettlement of the Peace of the Kingdom, was ſo clearly Voted, that the Houſe was not divided; and that there might be no after-claps, they appointed a Committee "to confer "with the General, for the better procuring a good Intelli"gence and Correſpondence between the Army and the Par"liament; and then they Adjourn'd the Houſe to *Wedneſday* Morning, it being then near the Morning of *Tueſday*.

Vote "that "the King's "Anſwer "was a "ground for "Peace.

THE Committee that was appointed to confer with the General, waited, that Afternoon upon him in his Lodging at *White-Hall*, that they might be able to give ſome Account to the Houſe the next Morning. But they were forced to attend full three hours, before they could be admitted to his preſence; and then he told them ſullenly and ſuperciliouſly, "that the way to correſpond with the Army, was to com"ply with their Remonſtrance: and, the next Morning there was a Guard of Muſqueteers placed at the entry into, and door of the Houſe, and the Officers thereof having a Liſt in their hands of the Names of thoſe who ſhould be reſtrain'd from going into the Houſe, all Thoſe were ſtopped, one by one, as they came, and ſent into the Court of Wards, where they were kept together for many hours, under a Guard, to the number of near one hundred. Notwithſtanding which there were ſo many of the ſame opinion got into the Houſe, through the inadvertency of the Guard, or becauſe they meant only to ſequeſter the moſt notorious and refractory Perſons, that the Debate, upon reſuming the ſame Queſtion, continued very

Many of the Members entring into the Houſe ſeiſed upon by the Soldiers.

long; ſeveral Members who obſerv'd the force at the entrance of the Houſe, and ſaw their Companions not ſuffer'd to come in, complain'd loudly of the Violence and Breach of Privilege, and demanded remedy; but, in vain; the Houſe would take no notice of it. In the concluſion, after a very long Debate, the Major part of thoſe who were preſent in the Houſe, Voted the Negative to what had been ſettled in the former Debate, and "that the Anſwer the King had given to their "Propoſitions was not ſatisfactory.

The remaining Members Vote the contrary to former Votes.

THOSE Gentlemen who for ſome hours had been reſtrain'd in the Court of Wards, were afterwards led in Triumph through *Weſtminſter*-Hall (except ſome few, who were ſuffer'd for affection, or by negligence, to go away) by a ſtrong Guard, to that place under the Exchequer which is commonly called *Hell*; where they might eat and drink, at their own charge, what they pleaſed. And here they were kept in one Room, till after twelve of the Clock in the Night: after which hour, in reſpect of the extreme cold Weather, and the Age of many of the Members, they were carried to ſeveral Inns; where they were ſuffer'd to lodge as Priſoners, and remain'd under that confinement for two or three days. In which time, they publiſh'd a Proteſtation in Print againſt the Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, declaring "the "force and violence that had been uſed againſt them: and then the Houſe, with the remaining Members, having determin'd what they thought fit, moſt of the other were at liberty to do what they pleaſed. No body own'd this Act of Violence in the Excluſion of ſo many Members: there was no Order made for it by the Houſe. *Fairfax* the General knew nothing of it, and the Guards themſelves being asked "what "Authority they had, gave no other Anſwer "but that they "had Orders. But afterwards there was a full and clear Order of the Houſe, without taking notice of any excluſion, "that "none of them who had not been preſent that day when the "Negative Vote prevailed, ſhould ſit any more in the Houſe, "before they had firſt ſubſcribed the ſame Vote, as agree"able to their judgements; which if they ſubſcribed, they "were as well qualified Members as before. Many of theſe excluded Members, out of Conſcience or Indignation, forbore coming any more to the Houſe for many years; ſome, not before the Revolution; others, ſooner or later, return'd to their old Seats, that they might not be idle when ſo much buſineſs was to be done.

Vote, "that "thoſe who "were abſent "at the Negative Vote "ſhould ſit "no more in "the Houſe.

THEN the Houſe renew'd their old Votes of no more Addreſſes, and annull'd and made void all thoſe which introduced the Treaty: and that they might find no more ſuch contradiction hereafter, they committed to ſeveral Priſons Major

Vote of no more Addreſſes renewed.

General *Brown* (though he was then Sheriff of *London*) Sr *John Clotworthy*, Sr *William Waller*, Major General *Maſſey*, and Commiſſary General *Copley*, who were the moſt active Members in the Houſe of the Presbyterian Party, and who had all as maliciouſly advanced the Service of the Parliament in their ſeveral Stations againſt the King as any Men of their Rank in the Kingdom, and much more than any Officer of the preſent Army had then credit to do: of theſe, *Maſſey* made his eſcape, and Tranſported himſelf into *Holland*; and there, according to the natural Modeſty of that Sect, preſented himſelf to the Prince, with as much confidence (and as a Sufferer for the King his Father) as if he had defended *Colcheſter*.

The Proteſtation of the ſecluded Members.

THE Proteſtation that the ſecluded Members had publiſhed and cauſed to be Printed, with the Narrative of the violence that had been exerciſed upon them, and their declaring all Acts to be void which from that time had been done in the Houſe of Commons, made a great noiſe over the Kingdom, and no leſs incenſed thoſe who remain'd and ſate in the Houſe, than it did the Officers of the Army; and therefore, to leſſen the credit of it, the Houſe likewiſe made a Declaration againſt that Proteſtation; and declared it, "to "be Falſe, Scandalous, and Seditious, and tending to the de-"ſtruction of the viſible and Fundamental Government of the "Kingdom; and to this wonderful Declaration they obtain'd the concurrence of the ſmall Houſe of Peers, and joyntly ordain'd "that that Proteſtation ſhould be ſuppreſſed, and "that no Man ſhould preſume to ſell, or buy, or to read the "ſame.

Voted againſt by both Houſes.

Votes of the Houſe of Commons.

WHEN they had in this manner maſter'd all contradiction and oppoſition, they begun more directly to conſult what they were to do, as well as what they were Not to do, and to eſtabliſh ſome Affirmative concluſions, as they had done Negatives. They were told, "that it was high time to ſettle "ſome form of Government, under which the Nation was to "live: there had been much Treaſure and Blood ſpent to re-"cover the liberty of the People, which would be to no pur-"poſe if there were not proviſion made for their ſecure en-"joying it; and there would be always the ſame attempts "made, which had been of late, to diſturb and to deſtroy "the publick Peace, if there were not ſuch exemplary penal-"ties inflicted, as might terrify all Men, of what condition "ſoever, from entring upon ſuch deſperate Undertakings. They reſolv'd to gratify the Army, by taking a view of a Paper formerly digeſted by them as a model for a new Government, which was called *the Agreement of the People*, and for contriving and publiſhing whereof, one of the Agitators had been, by *Cromwell*'s directions, the year before, ſhot to death, when he found the Parliament was ſo much offended with it. They declared now, as the moſt popular thing they could do to pleaſe both the People and the Army, "that they "would put an end to the Parliament on the laſt day of *April* "next; and that there ſhould be a Repreſentative of the Nation, conſiſting of three hundred Perſons choſen by the People; of which, for the Term of ſeven years, no Perſon "who had adher'd to the King, or who ſhould oppoſe this "Agreement, or not ſubſcribe thereunto, ſhould be capable "of being choſen to be one, or to have a voice in the Election; and that, before that time, and before the Diſſolution of the preſent Parliament, it would be neceſſary to "bring thoſe ſignal Delinquents, who had lately diſturbed the "Quiet and Peace of the Kingdom, and put it to ſo great an "expence of Blood and Treaſure, to exemplary puniſhment. And it was with great impudence very vehemently urged, "that they ought to begin with Him who had been the cauſe "of all the miſeries, and miſchiefs, which had befallen the "Kingdom, and whom they had already deveſted of all Power "and Authority to govern them for the future; and they had "had near two years experience, that the Nation might be "very happily govern'd without any recourſe to him: that "they had already declared, and the Houſe of Peers had concurr'd with them, that the King had been the cauſe of all "the Blood which had been ſpilt; and therefore, that it was "fit that ſuch a Man of Blood ſhould be brought to Juſtice, "that he might undergo the penalty that was due to his Tyranny and Murthers: that the People expected This at "their hands; and that having the principal Malefactor in "their power, he might not eſcape the puniſhment that was "due to him.

How new and monſtrous ſoever this language and diſcourſe was to all *Engliſh* Ears, they found a Major part ſtill to concur with them: ſo that they appointed a Committee for the preſent "to prepare a charge of High Treaſon againſt the "King, which ſhould contain the ſeveral Crimes, and Miſdemeanours of his Reign; which being made, they would conſider of the beſt way and manner of Proceeding, that he "might be brought to Juſtice.

A Committee appointed by them to prepare a Charge againſt the King.

This manner of proceeding in *England* was ſo unheard of, that it was very hard for any Body to propoſe any way to oppoſe it that might carry with it any hope of ſucceſs. However, the pain the Prince was in, would not ſuffer him to reſt without making ſome effort. He knew too well how far the States of *Holland* were from wiſhing that ſucceſs, and honour to the Crown of *England*, as it had deſerv'd from them, and how much they had always favour'd the Rebellion; that his own preſence was in no degree acceptable or grateful to them; and that they were deviſing all ways how they might be rid of him: yet he believ'd the way they were now upon in *England*, would be ſo univerſally odious to all Chriſtians, that no Body of Men would appear to favour it. His Highneſs therefore ſent to the States General, to deſire them "to give him "an Audience the next day; and that he would come to the "place where they ſate; which he did, being met by the whole Body at the bottom of the Stairs, and conducted into the Room where they ſate.

The Prince of Wales deſires the States to interpoſe with the two Houſes.

THE Prince was attended by four or five of his Council; and when he had ſaid a little to the States of Compliment, he referr'd them to a paper which S^r *William Boſwell*, the King's Reſident there, was to deliver to them. The paper deſcribed the ill condition the King his Father was in; and the threats and menaces which his Enemies uſed to proceed againſt him in ſuch a manner as muſt be abominated by all Chriſtians, and which would bring the greateſt reproach and obloquy upon the Proteſtant Religion, that ever Chriſtianity had undergone: And therefore deſired them, "that they would "interpoſe their credit, and authority, in ſuch a manner as "they thought fit, with the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, that, "inſtead of ſuch an unlawful and wicked proſecution, they "would enter into Terms of accommodation with his Royal "Father; for the obſervation whereof his Royal Highneſs "would become bound.

Their Anſwer.

THE States aſſured his Highneſs, "that they were very "much afflicted at the condition of the King, and would be "glad any interpoſition of Theirs might be able to relieve "him; that they would ſeriouſly conſider in what manner "they might ſerve him. And, that day, they reſolv'd to ſend an extraordinary Embaſſadour into *England*, who ſhould repair to the Prince of *Wales*, and receive his Inſtructions to what Friends of the King's he ſhould reſort, and conſult with; who, being upon the place, might beſt inform him to whom to apply himſelf. And they made choice of *Paw*, the Penſioner of *Holland*, for their Embaſſadour; who immediately attended the Prince with the Offer of his Service, and many profeſſions of his deſire that his Journey might produce ſome good Effect.

THE Council that was about the Prince, had looked upon *Paw* as a Man that had always favour'd the Rebellion in *England*, and as much obſtructed all Civilities from the States towards the King, as was poſſible for him to do; and therefore they were very ſorry that He was made choice of for Embaſſadour in ſuch a fatal conjuncture. But the Prince of *Orange* aſſured the Prince, "that he had uſed all his credit to com-"paſs that Election; that he was the Wiſeſt Man of their "Body; and that neither He, nor any of the reſt, who had "cheriſhed the *Engliſh* Rebellion more than he, ever deſired "it ſhould proſper to that degree it had done, as to endanger "the changing the Government; and therefore wiſhed "there "might not appear any diſtruſt of him, but that the Prince "would treat him with confidence, and ſome of the Council "would confer with him with freedom, upon any particulars "which would be neceſſary for him to be inſtructed in. But the wiſdom of Angels was not ſufficient to give any effectual advice for ſuch a Negotiation, ſince the States could not be brought ſo much to intereſt themſelves, as to uſe any Menaces to the Parliament as if they would embark themſelves in the qnarrel. So that the Council could only wiſh, "that the Em-"baſſadour would confer with ſuch of the King's Friends "who were then at *London*, and whoſe relation had been "moſt eminent towards his Majeſty; and receive advice from "them, how he might moſt hopefully prevail over particu-"lar Men, and thereby with the Parliament. And ſo the Embaſſadour departed for *England*, within leſs than a week after he was nominated for the Employment.

They ſend a Embaſſadou into England.

AT the ſame time, the Queen of *England*, being ſtruck to the heart with amazement and confuſion upon the report of what the Parliament intended, ſent a Paper to the Agent who was employed there by the Cardinal to keep a good correſpondence; which ſhe obliged him to deliver to the Parliament. The Paper contain'd a very paſſionate lamentation of the ſad condition the King her Husband was in; deſiring "that they would grant her a Paſs to come over to him, of-"fering to uſe all the credit ſhe had with him, that he might "give them ſatisfaction. However, if they would not give "her leave to perform any of thoſe Offices towards the Pub-"lick, that ſhe might be permitted to perform the Duty ſhe "owed Him, and to be near him in the uttermoſt Extremity. Neither of theſe Addreſſes did more than expreſs the Zeal of thoſe who procured them to be made: the Embaſſadour *Paw* could neither get leave to ſee the King (which he was to endeavour to do, that he might from himſelf be inſtructed beſt what to do) nor be admitted to an Audience by the Parliament, till after the Tragedy was acted: and the Queen's Paper was deliver'd, and never conſider'd in order to return any Anſwer to it.

The Queen ſent a Paper to be deliver'd to the Parliament, but it was laid aſide.

WHEN the Committee had prepared ſuch a Charge, which they called "an Impeachment of High Treaſon againſt *Charles* "*Stewart* King of *England*, digeſted into ſeveral Articles, "which contain'd all thoſe Calumnies they had formerly

The Charge againſt the King approv'd by the Commons;

heaped up in that Declaration of no more Addreſſes to be made to him, with ſome Additional Reproaches, it was read in the Houſe; and, after it was approv'd there, they ſent it to the Houſe of Peers for Their concurrence. That Houſe had very little to do from the time that *Cromwell* return'd from *Scotland*, and were few in Number, and uſed to Adjourn for two or three days together for want of buſineſs; ſo that it was believ'd, that they who had done ſo many extravagant things, rather than they would diſſent from the Houſe of Commons, would likewiſe concur with them in This, rather than ſever from them when they were ſo triumphant. But, contrary to this expectation, when this Impeachment was brought up to the Peers, it was ſo ill receiv'd, that there was not one Perſon who concurr'd with them; which, conſidering the Men and what moſt of them had done, might ſeem very ſtrange. And when they had, with ſome warmth rejected it, they Adjourn'd for a week; preſuming they ſhould thereby at leaſt give ſome interruption to that Career which the Houſe of Commons was upon, and, in that time, ſome expedient might be found to reconcile the Proceedings in both Houſes. But they were as much deceiv'd in this; the Houſe of Commons was very well pleaſed with it, and thought they had given them eaſe, which they could not ſo well have contriv'd for themſelves. So they proceeded in their own Method, and when the day came to which the Lords had Adjourn'd their Houſe, they found their doors all locked, and faſten'd with Padlocks, that there ſhould then be no more Entrance for them; nor did any of them ever after ſit in that Houſe as Peers above twice or thrice at moſt, till *Cromwell*, long after, endeavour'd in vain to have erected a Houſe of Peers of his own Creation; in which ſome of them then very willingly took their places.

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THE Charge and Accuſation, upon which they reſolv'd to proceed againſt the King, being thus ſettled and agreed upon, they begun to conſider in what manner and form to proceed, that there might be ſome appearance of Juſtice. Nothing could be found in the Common or Statute-Law, which could direct or warrant them; nor could the Precedent of depoſing *Richard* the ſecond (the ſole Precedent of that kind) be applied to their purpoſe: for, how foul ſoever the circumſtances precedent had been, he had made a Reſignation of his Royalty before the Lords in Parliament; ſo that his Depoſition proceeded from Himſelf, and with his own Conſent, and [illegible]uld not agree in any particular with the caſe in queſtion. They were therefore to make a new form to warrant their Proceedings: and a new form they did erect, never before heard of. They conſtituted and erected a Court that ſhould be called "*the High Court of Juſtice*, to conſiſt of "ſo

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“ſo many Judges, who ſhould have Authority to try the King, “whether he were guilty of what he was accuſed of, or no; “and, in order thereunto, to examine ſuch Witneſſes as “ſhould be produced: The Number of the Judges named was about an hundred and fifty, whereof the Major part might proceed.

THEY could not have found ſuch a Number yet amongſt themſelves, after ſo many barbarities and impieties, upon whom they might depend in this laſt Tragical Act. And therefore they laid this for a ground; that if they ſhould make only their own Members to be Judges in this caſe, they might appear in the Eyes of the People to be too much parties, as having from the beginning maintain'd a War, though defenſive, as they pretended, againſt the King, and ſo not ſo fit to be the only Judges who were in the fault: On the other hand, if they ſhould name none of themſelves, it might be interpreted that they look'd upon it as too dangerous a Province to engage themſelves in, and therefore they had put it off to others; which would diſcourage others from undertaking it. Wherefore they reſolv'd, that the Judges ſhould be nominated promiſcuouſly, as well of Members of the Houſe, as of ſuch other of their Good and Godly Men in the Kingdom. Whoſoever would not be one himſelf when named, as there were yet many amongſt them, who, out of Conſcience, or of Fear, utterly proteſted againſt it, ſhould take upon him to name another Man; which ſure he could not but think was equally unlawful: So that few took upon them to nominate others, who would reject the Province themſelves.

ALL the Chief Officers of the Army were named, and divers accepted the Office; and ſuch Aldermen and Citizens of *London*, as had been moſt violent againſt Peace, and ſome few Country Gentlemen, whoſe Zeal had been taken notice of for the Cauſe, and who were like to take ſuch a Preferment as a teſtimony of the Parliament's Confidence in them, and would thereupon embrace it. When ſuch a Number of Men were nominated as were thought in all reſpects to be equal to the work, they were to make choice of a Speaker, or Prolocutor, who ſhould be called *Lord Preſident* of that High Court, who muſt manage and govern all the proceedings there, ask the Witneſſes all proper Queſtions, and anſwer what the Priſoner ſhould propoſe. And to that Office one *Bradſhaw* was choſen, a Lawyer of *Grays-Inn*, not much known in *Weſtminſter* Hall, though of good practice in his Chamber, and much employ'd by the Factious. He was a Gentleman of an ancient Family in *Cheſhire* and *Lancaſhire*, but of a Fortune of his own making. He was not without Parts, and of great Inſolence and Ambition. When he was

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firſt nominated, he ſeem'd much ſurpriſed, and very reſolute to refuſe it; which he did in ſuch a manner, and ſo much enlarging upon his own want of Abilities to undergo ſo important a Charge, that it was very evident he had expected to be put to that Apology. And when he was preſs'd with more importunity than could have been uſed by chance, he required "time to conſider of it; and ſaid, "he would then "give his final Anſwer; which he did, the next day; and with great Humility accepted the Office, which he adminiſter'd with all the Pride, Impudence, and Superciliouſneſs imaginable. He was preſently inveſted in great State, and many Officers, and a Guard aſſign'd for the ſecurity of his Perſon, and the Dean's Houſe at *Weſtminſter* given to him for ever for his reſidence and habitation, and a good Sum of Money, about five thouſand pounds, was appointed to be preſently paid to him, to put himſelf in ſuch an Equipage and way of Living, as the dignity of the Office which he held would require. And now, the Lord Preſident of the High Court of Juſtice, ſeem'd to be the greateſt Magiſtrate in *England.* And though it was not thought ſeaſonable to make any ſuch Declaration, yet ſome of thoſe whoſe opinions grew quickly into Ordinances, upon ſeveral occaſions, declared, "that they believ'd that Office was not to be look'd upon as "neceſſary *pro hac vice* only, but for continuance; and that "he who executed it, deſerv'd to have an ample and a liberal "Eſtate conferr'd upon him for ever: which ſuddain mutation and exaltation of Fortune, could not but make a great impreſſion upon a vulgar Spirit, accuſtom'd to no Exceſſes, and acquainted only with a very moderate Fortune. All this being done, they made choice of ſome Lawyers (till that time very obſcure, and Men ſcarce known or heard of in their Profeſſion) to perform the Offices of Atturney General, and Sollicitor General for the State, to proſecute the Priſoner at his Trial, and to manage the Evidence againſt him. Other Officers, of all kinds, were appointed to attend, and perform the ſeveral Offices of their new Court; which was order'd to be erected in *Weſtminſter* Hall.

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THE King was now ſent for from *Hurſt* Caſtle, and was receiv'd by Colonel *Harriſon* with a ſtrong Party of Horſe; by whom he was to be conducted to *Windſor* Caſtle. *Harriſon* was the Son of a Butcher near *Nantwich* in *Cheſhire*, and had been bred up in the place of a Clerk under a Lawyer of good Account in thoſe parts; which kind of Education introduces Men into the language and practice of Buſineſs, and, if it be not reſiſted by the great ingenuity of the Perſon, inclines young Men to more Pride than any other kind of breeding; and diſpoſes them to be Pragmatical and Inſolent, though they have the Skill to conceal it from their Maſters, except they find them (as they are too often) inclined to cheriſh it. When the Rebellion firſt began, this Man quitted his Maſter (who had relation to the King's Service, and diſcharged his Duty faithfully) and put himſelf into the Parliament Army, where, having firſt obtain'd the Office of a Cornet, he got up, by diligence and ſobriety, to the State of a Captain, without any ſignal notice taken of him till the new model of the Army; when *Cromwell*, who, poſſibly, had knowlege of him before, found him of a ſpirit and diſpoſition fit for his Service, much given to Prayer and to Preaching, and, otherwiſe, of an underſtanding capable to be truſted in any buſineſs; to which his Clerkſhip contributed very much: And then he was preferr'd very faſt; ſo that, by the time the King was brought to the Army, he had been a Colonel of Horſe, and look'd upon as inferior to few, after *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, in the Council of Officers, and in the Government of the Agitators; and there were few Men with whom *Cromwell* more communicated, or upon whom he more depended for the Conduct of any thing committed to him. He receiv'd the King with outward reſpect, kept himſelf bare; but attended him with great ſtrictneſs; and was not to be approached by any Addreſs; anſwering queſtions in ſhort and few words, and when importuned, with rudeneſs. He manifeſted an apprehenſion that the King had ſome thought of making an Eſcape, and did all things in order to prevent it. Being to lodge at *Windſor*, and ſo to paſs by *Bagshot*, the King expreſſed a deſire to ſee his little Park at *Bagshot*, and ſo to dine at the Lodge there, a place where he had uſed to take much pleaſure; and did not diſſemble the knowing that the Lord *Newburgh*, who had lately Married the Lady *Aubigney*, liv'd there; and ſaid, "he would "ſend a Servant to let that Lady know that he would dine "with her, that ſhe might provide a dinner for him. *Harriſon* well knew the Affection of that Lord and Lady, and was very unwilling he ſhould make any ſtay there; but finding the King ſo fixt upon it, that he would not be otherwiſe removed from it than by abſolutely refuſing him to go thither, he choſe to conſent, and that his Majeſty ſhould ſend a Servant; which he did the Night before he intended to dine there.

BOTH Lord and Lady were of known Duty and Affection to the King; the Lady, after her Husband the Lord *Aubigney* had been kill'd at *Edge-hill*, having ſo far incenſed the Parliament, that ſhe had endured a long Impriſonment, under a ſuſpicion that ſhe had been privy to the deſign which had been diſcover'd by Mr *Waller*, upon which *Tomkins* and *Challoner* had been put to death, and had likewiſe her ſelf been put to death, if ſhe had not made her Eſcape to *Oxford*. After the War was ended, ſhe had, with the King's approbation, Married the Lord *Newburgh*; who had the ſame Affections. They had, from the time of the King's being at *Hampton* Court, concerted with his Majeſty upon ſuch means, that, in the ſtricteſt reſtraint he was under, they found a way to write to, and to hear from him. And moſt of the Letters which paſſed between the King and the Queen, paſſed through their hands; who had likewiſe a Cipher with the King, by which they gave him notice of any thing they judged of Importance for him to know. They had given him notice that he would be ſent for from *Hurſt* Caſtle, and adviſed him "to find ſome "way, that he might dine at the Lodge at *Bagshot*; and that "he ſhould take occaſion, if he could, to lame the Horſe he "rode upon, or to find ſuch fault with his going, that he might "take another Horſe out of the Lord *Newburgh*'s Stables to "continue the reſt of his Journey upon. That Lord much delighted in Horſes, and had, at that time, in his Stables one of the fleeteſt that was in *England*; and the purpoſe was, to mount the King upon that Horſe, that, when he found a fit opportunity, he might, upon the ſuddain, ſet Spurs to him; and if he could get out of the Company that encompaſſed him, he might, poſſibly, by the ſwiftneſs of his Horſe, and his own skill in the moſt obſcure ways of that Forreſt, convey himſelf to another place in their view; and ſo, three or four good Horſes were laid in ſeveral places. And this was the reaſon that the King had ſo earneſtly inſiſted upon dining at *Bagshot*; which being in his way, and his cuſtom being always to dine, they could not reaſonably deny him that liberty.

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BEFORE the King came thither, *Harriſon* had ſent ſome Horſe with an Officer to ſearch the Houſe, and all about the Park, that he might be ſure that no Company lurked, which might make ſome attempt. And the King, all the Morning, found fault with the going of his Horſe; and ſaid, "he would "change it, and procure a better. When his Majeſty came to the Lodge, he found his dinner ready, but was quickly inform'd, "that the Horſe ſo much depended upon, was, the "day before, by the blow of another Horſe, ſo lam'd, that "he could not be of uſe to the purpoſe he was deſign'd for. And though that Lord had other good Horſes, which in ſuch an exigent might be made uſe of, yet the King had obſerv'd ſo great difficulty to be in the attempt all his Journey, when he was encompaſſed always in the middle of a hundred Horſe, the Officers all exceedingly well Horſed, and every Man, Officer, and Soldier, having a Piſtol ready ſpann'd in one hand, that he reſolv'd not to purſue that deſign. And *Harriſon*

riſon had already told him, "that he had provided a better "Horſe for him: and it was believ'd he would never have permitted him to have made uſe of one of the Lord *Newburgh*'s. So that after having ſpent three or four hours there, with very much ſatisfaction to himſelf, though he was not ſuffer'd to be in any Room without the Company of ſix or ſeven Soldiers, who ſuffer'd little to be ſpoken, except it was ſo loud that They could hear it too, he took a ſad farewel of them, appearing to have little hope ever to ſee them again. The Lord *Newburgh* rode ſome miles into the Forreſt to wait upon the King, till he was required by *Harriſon* to return. His Majeſty lodged that night at his Caſtle of *Windſor*, and was ſoon after carried to St *James*'s. In this Journey, *Harriſon* obſerving that the King had always an apprehenſion that there was a purpoſe to Murther him, and had once let fall ſome words of "the odiouſneſs and wickedneſs of ſuch an Aſſaſſi"nation and Murther, which could never be ſafe to the Per"ſon who undertook it; he told him plainly, "that he need"ed not to entertain any ſuch imagination or apprehenſion; "that the Parliament had too much Honour and Juſtice to "cheriſh ſo foul an intention; and aſſured Him, "that what"ever the Parliament reſolv'd to do, would be very Publick, "and in a way of Juſtice; to which the World ſhould be "Witneſs; and never would endure a thought of ſecret Vio"lence: which his Majeſty could not perſwade himſelf to believe; nor did imagine that they durſt ever produce him in the ſight of the People, under any form whatſoever of a publick Trial.

The King brought to St James's.

The ſeveral Conſultations, before and after this time, among the Officers, what to do with the King:

IT hath been acknowledg'd ſince by ſome Officers, and others who were preſent at the Conſultations, that from the time of the King's being at *Hampton* Court, and after the Army had maſter'd both the Parliament and the City, and were weary of having the King with them, and knew not well how to be rid of him, there were many ſecret Conſults what to do with him. And it was generally concluded, "they ſhould never be able to ſettle their new form of Go"vernment, whilſt He liv'd: and after he was become a Priſoner in the Iſle of *Wight*, they were more ſollicitous for a Reſolution and Determination in that particular: and after the Vote of no more Addreſſes, the moſt violent Party thought "they could do nothing in order to their own ends, till He "ſhould be firſt dead; and therefore, one way or other, that "was to be compaſſed in the firſt place. Some were for "an "actual Depoſing him; which could not but be eaſily brought "to paſs, ſince the Parliament would Vote any thing they "ſhould be directed: Others were for the taking away his "Life by Poyſon; which would make leaſt noiſe; or, "if that

“could not be ſo eaſily contriv'd, by Aſſaſſination; for whic
“there were hands enough ready to be employ'd. There wa
a Third ſort, as violent as either of the other, who preſſe
“to have him brought to a publick Trial as a Malefactor
which, they ſaid, “would be moſt for the Honour of th
“Parliament, and would teach all Kings to know, that the
“were accountable, and puniſhable for the wickedneſs of the
“Lives.

MANY of the Officers were of the firſt opinion, “as
“thing they had Precedents for; and that he being once De-
“pos'd, they could better ſettle the Government than if h
“were dead; for his Son could pretend no Right whilſt H
“was alive; whereas, if the Father were dead, he woul
“preſently call himſelf King, and others would call him f
“too; and, it may be, other Kings and Princes would ow
“him for ſuch. If he were kept alive in a cloſe Priſon, h
“might afterwards be made uſe of, or remov'd upon any ap-
“pearance of a Revolution.

THERE were as many Officers of the ſecond Judgement
“that he ſhould be preſently diſpatched. They ſaid, “it ap-
“pear'd by the experience they had, that whilſt He was aliv
“(for a more ſtrict Impriſonment than he had undergone, h
“could never be confined to) there would be always Plot
“and Deſigns to ſet him at Liberty; and he would have Partie
“throughout the Kingdom; and, in a ſhort time, a Factio
“in their moſt ſecret Councils, and it may be in the Army i
“ſelf; and, where his Liberty would yield ſo great a Price, i
“would be too great a Truſt to repoſe in any Man, that h
“would long reſiſt the Temptation. Whereas, if he wer
“confeſſedly dead, all thoſe fears would be over; eſpeciall
“if they proceeded with that circumſpection and ſeverity to
“wards all his Party, as in prudence they ought to do. Thi
Party might probably have carried it, if *Hammond* could hav
been wrought upon to have concurr'd; but he had yet to
much Conſcience to expoſe himſelf to that Infamy; and with
out His privity or connivance it could not be done.

THE third Party, which were all the Levellers and Agi
tators of the Army, in the head of which *Ireton* and *Harriſo*
were, would not endure either of the other ways; and ſaid
“they could as eaſily bring him to Juſtice in the ſight of th
“Sun, as Depoſe him; ſince the Authority of the Parliamen
“could do one as well as the other: That their Precedent o
“Depoſing, had no reputation with the People; but wa
“looked upon as the effect of ſome potent Faction, whic
“always oppreſſed the People more after, than they had bee
“before. Beſides, thoſe Depoſings had always been attende
“with Aſſaſſinations and Murthers, which were the mor

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“odious, and deteſted, becauſe no body own'd and avow'd “the bloody Actions they had done. But if he were brought “to a publick Trial, for the notorious ill things he had done, “and for his Miſgovernment, upon the complaint and proſe-“cution of the People, the Superiority of the People would “be hereby vindicated and made manifeſt; and They ſhould “receive the benefit, and be for ever free from thoſe oppreſ-“ſions which he had impos'd upon them, and for which he “ought to pay ſo dear; and ſuch an exemplary Proceeding “and Execution as this, where every circumſtance ſhould be “clear and notorious, would be the beſt foundation and ſe-“curity of the Government they intended to eſtabliſh; and “no Man would be Ambitious to ſucceed Him, and be a King “in his place, when he ſaw in what manner he muſt be ac-“countable to the People. This Argumentation, or the ſtrength and obſtinacy of that Party, carried it: and hereupon, all that formality of proceeding, which afterwards was exerciſed, was reſolv'd upon and conſented to.

Concluded to have him publickly tryed.

WHETHER the incredibility, or monſtrouſneſs of ſuch a kind of proceeding, wrought upon the minds of Men, or whether the principal Actors took pains, by their Inſinuations, to have it ſo believ'd, it fell out however that they among them who wiſh'd the King beſt, and ſtood neareſt to the Stage where theſe parts were Acted, did not believe that there were thoſe Horrid Intentions that ſhortly after appear'd. The Preachers, who had ſounded the Trumpets loudeſt to, and throughout the War, Preached now as furiouſly againſt all wicked Attempts and Violence againſt the Perſon of the King, and fooliſhly urged the obligation of the Covenant (by which they had involv'd him in all the danger he was in) for the ſecurity of his Perſon.

ASSOON as the Prince heard of the King's being carried by *Harriſon* to *Windſor*, and from thence to St *James*'s, though he had lately ſent a Servant on purpoſe to ſee his Majeſty, and to bring him an Account of the State he was in, which Servant was not permitted to ſee him, he ſent now another with a Letter to *Fairfax* and the Council of War (for he knew the Parliament had no Authority) in which he told them, “that ‘he had no other means to be inform'd of the health and ‘condition of the King his Royal Father, but by the Com-‘mon Prints, and general Intelligences that arriv'd in thoſe ‘Parts: He had reaſon by thoſe to believe, that after the ex-‘piration of the Treaty in the Iſle of *Wight* (where he hoped ‘the foundation for a happy Peace had been laid) his Majeſty ‘had been carried to *Hurſt* Caſtle; and ſince, by ſome Officers ‘of the Army, to *Windſor*, not without purpoſe of a more ‘violent proſecution; the rumour whereof, though of ſo

The Prince ſends a Letter to Fairfax *and the Council of War:*

monſtrous and incredible a Nature, had called upon his Piety to make this Addreſs to them; who had at this time the power to chooſe, whether they would raiſe laſting Monuments to themſelves of Loyalty and Piety, by reſtoring their Soveraign to his juſt Rights, and their Country to Peace and Happineſs, a Glory which had been ſeldom abſolutely vouchſafed to ſo ſmall a number of Men, or to make themſelves the Authors of endleſs Miſery to the Kingdom, by contributing or conſenting to an Act which all Chriſtians, into how different opinions ſoever divided, muſt abhor as the moſt inconſiſtent with the Elements of any Religion, and deſtructive to the Security and being of any kind of Government: He did therefore earneſtly deſire and conjure them, ſadly to conſider the vaſt and prodigious diſproportion in that Election; and then, he ſaid, “he could not doubt but that they would chooſe to do that which is moſt Juſt, Safe, and Honourable for them to do; make themſelves the bleſt Inſtruments to Preſerve, Defend, and Reſtore their King; to whom only their Allegiance was due; by which every one of them might juſtly promiſe to themſelve peace of Conſcience, the ſingular good Will and Favour o his Majeſty, the ample thanks and acknowledgment of al good Men, and the particular and unalterable Affection o the Prince himſelf. This Letter was, with much ado, deliver'd into the hands of *Fairfax* himſelf; but the Meſſenge could never be admitted to ſpeak with him; nor was there more known, than that it was read in the Council of War and laid aſide.

Which was read in the Council of war, and laid aſide.

FROM the time of the King's being come to St *James*'s when he was deliver'd into the hands and cuſtody of Colone *Tomlinſon*, a Colonel of Foot, though the Officer ſeem'd t be a Man of a better breeding, and of a Nature more Civi than *Harriſon*, and pretended to pay much Reſpect and Dut to the King in his outward Demeanour, yet his Majeſty, afte a ſhort time, was treated with more Rudeneſs and Barbarit than he had ever been before. They were ſo jealous of thei own Guards, leſt they ſhould be wrought upon by the influence of this Innocent Prince, or by the remorſe of their ow Conſcience upon the exerciſe of ſo much Barbarity, tha they cauſed the Guards to be ſtill changed; and the ſam Men were never ſuffer'd twice to perform the ſame monſtrou Duty.

The uſage of the King at St James's.

WHEN He was firſt brought to *Weſtminſter* Hall, whic was upon the twentieth of *January*, before their *High Cour of Juſtice*, he looked upon them, and ſate down, without an manifeſtation of trouble, never ſtirring his Hat; all the impudent Judges ſitting cover'd, and fixing their Eyes upon him

He is brought to Weſtminſter *Hall*, Jan. 20.

withou

The Sum of his Charge.

without tbe leaſt ſhew of reſpect. The odious Libel, which they called a Charge and Impeachment, was then read by the Clerk; which, in effect, contain'd, “that he had been admitted King of *England*, and truſted with a limited Power to Govern according to Law; and, by his Oath and Office, was obliged to uſe the Power committed to him for the good and benefit of the People; but that he had, out of a wicked deſign to erect to himſelf an Illimited and Tyrannical Power, and to overthrow the Rights and Liberties of the People, Trayterouſly levied War againſt the preſent Parliament, and the People therein repreſented. And then it mention'd his firſt appearance at *York* with a Guard, then his being at *Beverly*, then his ſetting up his Standard at *Nottingham*, the day of the Month and the Year in which the Battle had been at *Edge-hill*, and all the other ſeveral Battles which had been fought in his Preſence; in which, it ſaid, “He had cauſed and procured many thouſands of the Free-born People of the Nation to be ſlain: that after all his Forces had been defeated, and Himſelf become a Priſoner, he had, in that very year, cauſed many Inſurrections to be made in *England*, and given a Commiſſion to the Prince his Son to raiſe a new War againſt the Parliament; whereby many who were in their Service, and truſted by them, had revolted, broken their Truſt, and betook themſelves to the Service of the Prince againſt the Parliament and the People: that he had been the Author and Contriver of the unnatural, cruel, and bloody Wars; and was therein guilty of all the Treaſons, Murthers, Rapines, Burnings, and Spoils, Deſolations, Damage, and Miſchief to the Nation, which had been committed in the ſaid War, or been occaſion'd thereby; and that he was therefore impeached for the ſaid Treaſons and Crimes, on the behalf of the People of *England*, as a Tyrant, Traytor, and Murtherer, and a publick implacable Enemy to the Common-wealth of *England*. And it was prayed, “that he might be put to Anſwer to all the particulars, to the end that ſuch an Examination, Trial, and judgement, might be had thereupon, as ſhould be agreeable to Juſtice.

What paſſed the firſt day of his Trial.

WHICH being read, their Preſident *Bradſhaw*, after he had inſolently reprehended the King “for not having ſhew'd more reſpect to that High Tribunal, told him, “that the Parliament of *England* had appointed that Court to try him for the ſeveral Treaſons, and Miſdemeanours, which he had committed againſt the Kingdom during the evil Adminiſtration of his Government; and that, upon the Examination thereof, Juſtice might be done. And, after a great ſawcineſs and impudence of talk, he asked the King, “what Anſwer he had to make to that Impeachment.

THE King, without any alteration in his Countenance by all that inſolent provocation, told them, "he would firſt know "of them, by what Authority they preſumed by force to "bring him before them, and who gave them power to judge "of his Actions, for which he was accountable to none but "God; though they had been always ſuch as he need not be "aſhamed to own them before all the world. He told them, "that He was their King, They his Subjects; who owed "him Duty and Obedience; that no Parliament had Authority to call him before them; but that They were not the "Parliament, nor had any Authority from the Parliament to "ſit in that manner: That of all the Perſons who ſate there, "and took upon them to judge him, except thoſe Perſons "who being Officers of the Army he could not but know "whilſt he was forced to be amongſt them, there were only "two Faces which he had ever ſeen before, or whoſe names "were known to him. And, after urging "their Duty, that "was due to him, and his Superiority over them, by ſuch lively Reaſons, and Arguments, as were not capable of any Anſwer, he concluded, "that he would not ſo much betray "himſelf, and his Royal Dignity, as to Anſwer any thing they "objected againſt him, which were to acknowledge their "Authority; though he believ'd that every one of Themſelves, as well as the Spectators, did, in their own Conſciences, abſolve him from all the Material things which were "objected againſt him.

BRADSHAW adviſed him, in a very arrogant manner, "not "to deceive himſelf with an opinion that any thing he had "ſaid would do him any good: that the Parliament knew "their own Authority, and would not ſuffer it to be called in "queſtion or debated: therefore required him, "to think better of it, againſt he ſhould be next brought thither, and that "he would Anſwer directly to his Charge; otherwiſe, he "could not be ſo ignorant, as not to know what Judgement "the Law pronounced againſt thoſe who ſtood Mute, and obſtinately refuſed to plead. So the Guard carried his Majeſty back to St *James*'s; where they treated him as before.

Diſturbance in the Court by the Lady Fairfax the General's wife.

THERE was an accident happen'd that firſt day, which may be fit to be remember'd. When all thoſe who were Commiſſioners had taken their places, and the King was brought in, the firſt ceremony was, to read their Commiſſion; which was the Ordinance of Parliament for the Trial; and then the Judges were all called, every Man anſwering to his name as he was called, and the Preſident being firſt called and making Anſwer, the next who was called being the General, Lord *Fairfax*, and no Anſwer being made, the Officer called him the ſecond time, when there was a voice heard that ſaid, “ he had more Wit than to be there; which put the Court into ſome diſorder, and ſome body asking, who it was, there was no other Anſwer but a little murmuring. But, preſently, when the Impeachment was read, and that expreſſion uſed, of “ All the good People of *England*, the ſame voice in a louder tone, Anſwer'd, “ No, nor the hundredth part of “ them: upon which, one of the Officers bid the Soldiers give fire into that Box whence thoſe preſumptuous words were utter'd. But it was quickly diſcern'd that it was the General's Wife, the Lady *Fairfax*, who had utter'd both thoſe ſharp ſayings; who was preſently perſwaded or forced to leave the place, to prevent any new diſorder. She was of a very noble Extraction, one of the Daughters and Heirs of *Horace* Lord *Vere* of *Tilbury*; who, having been bred in *Holland*, had not that reverence for the Church of *England*, as ſhe ought to have had, and ſo had unhappily concurr'd in her Husband's entring into Rebellion, never imagining what miſery it would bring upon the Kingdom; and now abhorr'd the work in hand as much as any Body could do, and did all ſhe could to hinder her Husband from acting any part in it. Nor did he ever ſit in that bloody Court, though he was throughout over-witted by *Cromwell*, and made a property to bring that to paſs which could very hardly have been otherwiſe effected.

As there was in many Perſons preſent at that woeful Spectacle a real Duty and Compaſſion for the King, ſo there was in others ſo barbarous and brutal a behaviour towards him, that they called him Tyrant, and Murtherer; and one ſpit in his Face; which his Majeſty, without expreſſing any trouble, wiped off with his Handkerchief.

Sr H. Mildmay *and* Sr John Danvers *the only two Perſons the King knew beſides the Officers of the Army.*

THE two Men who were only known to the King before the Troubles, were Sr *Harry Mildmay*, Maſter of the King's Jewel Houſe, who had been bred up in the Court, being a younger Brother of a good Family in *Eſſex*, and who had been proſecuted with ſo great Favours and Bounties by King *James*, and by his Majeſty, that he was raiſed by them to a great Eſtate, and preferr'd to that Office in his Houſe, which is the beſt under thoſe which entitle the Officers to be of the privy Council. No Man more obſequious to the Court than He, whilſt it flouriſh'd; a great flatterer of all Perſons in Authorith, and a Spy in all places for them. From the beginning of the Parliament, he concurr'd with thoſe who were moſt violent againſt the Court, and moſt like to prevail againſt it; and being thereupon branded with ingratitude, as that brand commonly makes Men moſt impudent, he continued his deſperate pace with them, till he became one of the Murtherers of his Maſter. The other was Sr *John Danvers*, the younger Brother and Heir of the Earl of *Danby*, who was a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to the King, and being neglected by his Brother, and having, by a vain Expence in his way of living, contracted a vaſt debt, which he knew not how to pay, and being a proud formal weak Man, between being ſeduced and a Seducer, became ſo far involv'd in their Counſels that he ſuffer'd himſelf to be applied to their worſt Offices, taking it to be a high honour to ſit upon the ſame Bench with *Cromwell*, who employed and contemned him at once: nor did that Party of Miſcreants, look upon any two Men in the Kingdom with that ſcorn and deteſtation as they did upon **Danvers** and *Mildmay*.

A Summary paſſing over the reſt of the King's Trial.

THE ſeveral unheard of inſolencies which this excellent Prince was forced to ſubmit to, at the other times he was brought before that odious Judicatory, his Majeſtick behaviour, and reſolute inſiſting upon his own dignity, and defending it by manifeſt Authorities in the Law, as well as by the cleareſt deductions from Reaſon, the pronouncing that horrible ſentence upon the moſt innocent Perſon in the world, the Execution of that Sentence by the moſt execrable Murther that was ever committed ſince that of our Bleſſed Saviour and the circumſtances thereof; the Application and Interpoſition that was uſed by ſome noble Perſons to prevent that woeful Murther, and the hypocriſy with which that interpoſition was eluded, the Saint-like behaviour of that Bleſſed Martyr and his Chriſtian courage and patience at his death, are all particulars ſo well known, and have been ſo much enlarged upon in a Treatiſe peculiarly writ to that purpoſe, that the farther mentioning it in this place would but afflict and grieve the Reader, and make the Relation it ſelf odious as well as needleſs; and therefore no more ſhall be ſaid here of that deplorable Tragedy, ſo much to the diſhonour of the Nation, and the Religion profeſſed by it, though undeſervedly.

His Character.

BUT it will not be unneceſſary to add a ſhort Character o his Perſon, that Poſterity may know the ineſtimable loſ which the Nation then underwent, in being depriv'd of Prince whoſe example would have had a greater influence upon the manners, and piety of the Nation, than the moſt ſtrict Laws can have. To ſpeak firſt of his private Qualification as a Man, before the mention of his Princely and Royal Virtues; He was, if ever any, the moſt worthy of the title of a Honeſt Man; ſo great a lover of Juſtice, that no temptation could diſpoſe him to a wrongful Action, except it was ſ diſguiſed to him that he believ'd it to be juſt. He had a tenderneſs and compaſſion of Nature, which reſtrain'd him from ever doing a hard-hearted thing: and therefore he was ſo ap to grant pardon to Malefactors, that the Judges of the Lan repreſented to him the damage and inſecurity to the Publick

His Juſtice and Mercy.

that flowed from ſuch his Indulgence. And then he reſtrain'd himſelf from pardoning either Murthers, or High way Robberies, and quickly diſcern'd the fruits of his ſeverity by a wonderful Reformation of thoſe Enormities. He was very punctual and regular in his Devotions; he was never known to enter upon his Recreations or Sports, though never ſo early in the Morning, before he had been at Publick Prayers; ſo that on Hunting days his Chaplains were bound to a very early Attendance. He was likewiſe very ſtrict in obſerving the hours of his private Cabinet Devotion; and was ſo ſevere an exactor of gravity and reverence in all mention of Religion, that he could never endure any light or prophane word, with what ſharpneſs of Wit ſoever it was cover'd: and though he was well pleaſed, and delighted with reading Verſes made upon any occaſion, no Man durſt bring before him any thing that was prophane or unclean. That kind of Wit had never any Countenance then. He was ſo great an Example of Conjugal Affection, that they who did not imitate him in that particular, durſt not brag of their Liberty: and he did not only permit, but direct his Biſhops, to proſecute thoſe ſcandalous Vices, in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, againſt Perſons of eminence, and near Relation to his Service.

His Devotion and Religion.

His Conjugal Chaſtity.

HIS Kingly Virtues had ſome mixture and allay, that hindred them from ſhining in full Luſtre, and from producing thoſe Fruits they ſhould have been attended with. He was not in his Nature very bountiful, though he gave very much. This appear'd more after the Duke of *Buckingham*'s death, after which thoſe ſhowres fell very rarely; and he pauſed too long in giving, which made thoſe to whom he gave, leſs ſenſible of the benefit. He kept ſtate to the full, which made his Court very orderly; no Man preſuming to be ſeen in a place where he had no pretence to be. He ſaw, and obſerv'd Men long, before he receiv'd them about his Perſon; and did not love Strangers, nor very confident Men. He was a patient hearer of Cauſes; which he frequently accuſtom'd himſelf to at the Council Board; and judged very well, and was dextrous in the mediating part: ſo that he often put an end to Cauſes by perſwaſion, which the ſtubborneſs of Men's humours made dilatory in Courts of Juſtice.

He was not very bountiful.

He kept State in his Court.

Patient in hearing Cauſes.

HE was very fearleſs in his Perſon; but, in his riper years, not very Enterpriſing. He had an excellent underſtanding, but was not confident enough of it; which made him often times change his own opinion for a worſe, and follow the advice of Men that did not judge ſo well as himſelf. This made him more irreſolute than the conjuncture of his Affairs would admit: if he had been of a rougher and more imperious Nature, he would have found more reſpect and Duty. And

Fearleſs, not Enterpriſing.

Not confident in his own judgement.

his not applying ſome ſevere cures to approaching Evils, proceeded from the Lenity of his Nature, and the tenderneſs of his Conſcience, which, in all caſes of Blood, made him chooſe the ſofter way, and not hearken to ſevere Counſels, how reaſonably ſoever urged. This only reſtrain'd him from purſuing his advantage in the firſt *Scotiſh* Expedition, when, humanly ſpeaking, he might have reduced that Nation to the moſt entire obedience that could have been wiſhed. But no Man can ſay he had then many who adviſed him to it, but the contrary, by a wonderful indiſpoſition all his Council had to the War, or any other Fatigue. He was always a great Lover of the *Scotiſh* Nation, having not only been born there, but educated by that People, and beſieged by them always, having few *Engliſh* about him till he was King; and the major number of his Servants being ſtill of that Nation, who he thought could never fail him. And among theſe, no Man had ſuch an Aſcendent over him, by the humbleſt inſinuations, as Duke *Hamilton* had.

Lover of the Scotiſh *Nation.*

Abhorr'd Debauchery.

As he excelled in all other Virtues, ſo in Temperance he was ſo ſtrict, that he abhorr'd all Debauchery to that degree, that, at a great Feſtival Solemnity, where he once was, when very many of the Nobility of the *Engliſh* and *Scots* were entertain'd, being told by one who withdrew from thence, what vaſt draughts of Wine they drank, and “that there was one “Earl, who had drank moſt of the reſt down, and was not him-“ſelf moved or alter'd, the King ſaid, “that he deſerv'd to be “hanged; and that Earl coming ſhortly after into the Room where his Majeſty was, in ſome gayety, to ſhew how unhurt he was from that Battle, the King ſent one to bid him withdraw from his Majeſty's Preſence; nor did he in ſome days after appear before him.

So many miraculous Circumſtances contributed to his Ruine, that Men might well think that Heaven and Earth conſpired it. Though he was, from the firſt Declenſion of his Power, ſo much betrayed by his own Servants, that there were very few who remain'd faithful to him, yet that Treachery proceeded not always from any Treaſonable purpoſe to do Him any harm, but from particular, and perſonal Animoſities againſt other Men. And, afterwards, the terror all Men were under of the Parliament, and the guilt they were conſcious of themſelves, made them watch all opportunities to make themſelves gracious to thoſe who could do them good; and ſo they became ſpies upon their Maſter, and from one piece of knavery were harden'd and confirm'd to undertake another; till at laſt they had no hope of preſervation but by the Deſtruction of their Maſter. And after all this, when a Man might reaſonably believe that leſs than a univerſal Defection of three Nations, could not have reduced a great King to ſo ugly a fate, it is moſt certain, that, in that very hour when he was thus wickedly Murther'd in the ſight of the Sun, he had as great a ſhare in the Hearts and Affections of his Subjects in general, was as much belov'd, eſteem'd, and longed for by the People in general of the three Nations, as any of his Predeceſſors had ever been. To conclude, He was the worthieſt Gentleman, the beſt Maſter, the beſt Friend, the beſt Husband, the beſt Father, and the beſt Chriſtian, that the Age in which he liv'd produced. And if he were not the greateſt King, if he were without ſome Parts and Qualities which have made ſome Kings great and happy, no other Prince was ever unhappy who was poſſeſſed of half his Virtues and Endowments, and ſo much without any kind of Vice.

Belov'd by his Subjects in general when he was Murther'd.

The Sum of his Character.

THIS unparallel'd Murther and Parricide was committed upon the thirtieth of *January*, in the Year, according to the Account uſed in *England*, 1648, in the forty and ninth year of his Age, and when he had ſuch excellent health, and ſo great Vigour of Body, that when his Murtherers cauſed him to be open'd (which they did; and were ſome of them preſent at it with great curioſity) they confeſſed, and declared, "that no Man had ever all his vital parts ſo perfect and unhurt: and that he ſeem'd to be of ſo admirable a compoſition and conſtitution, that he would probably have liv'd as long as nature could ſubſiſt. His Body was immediately carried into a Room at *White-Hall*; where he was expoſed for many days to the publick view, that all Men might know that he was not alive. And he was then imbalm'd, and put into a Coffin, and ſo carried to St *James's*; where he likewiſe remain'd ſeveral days. They who were qualified to order his Funeral, declared, "that he ſhould be buried at *Windſor* in a decent manner, provided that the whole Expence ſhould not exceed five hundred pounds. The Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hertford*, the Earls of *Southampton* and *Lindſey*, who had been of his Bed-Chamber, and always very faithful to him, deſired thoſe that govern'd, "that they might have leave to perform the laſt duty to their dead Maſter, and to wait upon him to his Grave; which, after ſome pauſes, they were permitted to do, with this, "that they ſhould not attend the Corps out of the Town; ſince they reſolv'd it ſhould be privately carried to *Windſor* without Pomp or noiſe, and then they ſhould have timely notice, that if they pleaſed, they might be at his interment. And accordingly it was committed to four of thoſe Servants, who had been by them appointed to wait upon him during his Impriſonment, that they ſhould convey the Body to *Windſor*; which they did. And it was, that Night, placed in that Chamber which had

His Funeral.

uſually been his Bed-Chamber: the next Morning, it was carried into the great Hall; where it remain'd till the Lords came; who arriv'd there in the Afternoon, and immediately went to Colonel *Whitchcot*, the Governour of the Caſtle, and ſhew'd the Order they had from the Parliament to be preſent at the Burial; which he admitted; but when they deſired that his Majeſty might be Buried according to the Form of the Common-Prayer Book, the Biſhop of *London* being preſent with them to Officiate, he poſitively and roughly refuſed to conſent to it; and ſaid, "it was not Lawful; that the Com-"mon-Prayer Book was put down, and he would not ſuffer "it to be uſed in that Garriſon where He Commanded; nor could all the Reaſons, Perſwaſions, and Entreaties, prevail with him to ſuffer it. Then they went into the Church, to make choice of a place for Burial. But when they enter'd into it, which they had been ſo well acquainted with, they found it ſo alter'd and transform'd, all Inſcriptions, and thoſe Land-Marks pulled down, by which all Men knew every particular place in That Church, and ſuch a diſmal mutation over the whole, that they knew not where they were: nor was there one old Officer that had belonged to it, or knew where our Princes had uſed to be interr'd. At laſt there was a Fellow of the Town who undertook to tell them the place, where, he ſaid, "there was a Vault, in which King *Harry* the Eighth "and Queen *Jane Seymour* were interr'd. As near that place as could conveniently be, they cauſed the Grave to be made. There the King's Body was laid without any words, or other Ceremonies than the tears and ſighs of the few beholders. Upon the Coffin was a plate of Silver fixt with theſe words only, *King Charles* 1648. When the Coffin was put in, the black Velvet Pall that had cover'd it was thrown over it, and then the Earth thrown in; which the Governour ſtayed to ſee perfectly done, and then took the Keys of the Church.

I HAVE been the longer, and the more particular in this relation, that I may from thence take occaſion to mention what fell out long after, and which adminiſter'd a Subject of much diſcourſe; in which, according to the ſeveral humours and fancies of Men, they who were in neareſt Credit and Truſt about the King, underwent many very ſevere Cenſures and Reproaches, not without reflection upon the King himſelf. Upon the Return of King *Charles* the Second with ſo much Congratulation, and univerſal Joy of the People, above ten Years after the Murther of his Father, it was generally expected that the Body ſhould be remov'd from that obſcure Burial, and, with ſuch Ceremony as ſhould be thought fit, ſhould be ſolemnly depoſited with his Royal Anceſtors in King *Harry* the Seventh's Chapel in the Collegiate Church of

Weſtminſter. And the King himſelf intended nothing more, and ſpoke often of it, as if it were only deferr'd till ſome Circumſtances and Ceremonies in the doing it might be adjuſted. But, by degrees, the diſcourſe of it was diminiſhed, as if it were totally laid aſide upon ſome reaſons of State, the ground whereof ſeveral Men gueſſed at according to their fancies, and thereupon caſt thoſe Reproaches upon the States-men as they thought reaſonable, when the reaſons which were ſuggeſted by their own imaginations, did not ſatisfy their underſtanding. For the ſatisfaction and information of all Men, I chooſe in this place to explain that matter; which, it may be, is not known to many; and at that time was not, for many reaſons, thought fit to be publiſhed. The Duke of *Richmond* was dead before the King return'd; the Marquis of *Hertford* died in a ſhort time after, and was ſeldom out of his Lodging after his Majeſty came to *White-Hall*: the Earl of *Southampton* and the Earl of *Lindſey* went to *Windſor*, and took with them ſuch of their own Servants as had attended them in that Service, and as many others as they remember'd had been then preſent, and were ſtill alive; who all amounted to a ſmall Number; there being, at the time of the Interment, great ſtrictneſs uſed in admitting any to be preſent whoſe Names were not included in the Order which the Lords had brought. In a word, the confuſion they had at that time obſerv'd to be in that Church, and the ſmall alterations which were begun to be made towards Decency, ſo totally perplexed their Memories, that they could not ſatisfy themſelves in what place, or part of the Church the Royal Body was Interr'd: Yet, where any concurr'd upon this, or that place, they cauſed the ground to be open'd at a good diſtance, and, upon ſuch Enquiries, found no Cauſe to believe that they were near the place: And, upon their giving this Account to the King, the thought of that remove was laid aſide; and the reaſon communicated to very few, for the better diſcountenancing farther Enquiry.

THOUGH this wicked and abominable Action had to a degree ſatisfied their Malice, it had not enough provided for their Ambition or Security. They had no ſooner freed themſelves from one, than another King was grown up in his place. And beſides the old Royal Party, which continued ſtill vigorous, notwithſtanding their loſs of ſo much Blood, and (which weakens almoſt as much) of ſo great Eſtates, they did apprehend that there were in the vaſt number of the guilty (who quietly looked on upon the removal of the old, whom they had ſo grievouſly offended) who would yet be very willing to ſubmit, and be obedient to the new King; who was like to find more Friends abroad, as well as at home, than roclama-ion againſt roclaiming Charles tuart King

his Father had done. And therefore they made haſt to prevent this threatning evil, by publiſhing a Proclamation, "that "no Perſon whatſoever ſhould preſume to declare *Charles* "*Stuart*, Son of the late *Charles*, commonly call'd the Prince "of *Wales*, or any other Perſon, to be King, or Chief Magiſtrate of *England*, or *Ireland*, or of any Dominions be-"longing thereunto, by colour of Inheritance, Succeſſion, "Election, or any other Claim whatſoever; and that who-"ever, contrary to this Act, preſume to proclaim *&c.* "ſhould be deem'd and adjudged a Traytor, and ſuffer ac-"cordingly.

he Commons aboliſh he Houſe f Peers.

IN the next place, that their Infant Republick might be Nurſed, Cheriſhed, and brought up by thoſe only who had gotten and brought it forth, they reſolv'd to take away and aboliſh the Houſe of Peers, and Voted, "that they would "make no farther Addreſſes to the Houſe of Lords, nor re-"ceive any more from them: That the Houſe of Peers, in Par-"liament, was uſeleſs and dangerous; and that an Act ſhould "be brought in for aboliſhing it: That the Privilege of the "Peers of being freed from Arreſts, ſhould be declared null "and void; all which was done within few days. However, they declared, "that the Peers ſhould have the Privilege to "be elected Knights, or Burgeſſes; of which gracious Conceſſion ſome of them took the benefit ſoon after, and ſate, upon their Election into vacant places, in the Houſe of Commons.

ote againſt he Office of ingſhip.

THERE remain'd yet another proviſion to be made againſt their own Ambition; for it was well known, that there were yet amongſt them many who were not equally fond of a Common-wealth; and therefore they declared, "that it had "been found by experience, that the Office of a King in this "Nation, or to have the Power thereof in any ſingle Perſon, "was unneceſſary, burthenſom, and dangerous to the Liberty, "and Safety, and Publick Intereſt of the Nation; and there-"fore that it ſhould be utterly aboliſhed; and to that purpoſe "an Act ſhould be forthwith prepared: which was likewiſe done, and paſſed. And by this Triple Cord they believ'd their Republick would be ſtrongly compacted, and ſufficiently provided for.

hey make a ew Great eal.

THEIR new Great Seal was by this time ready; whereon was Engraven, on one ſide, the Armes of *England* and *Ireland*, with this Inſcription, *The Great Seal of England*; and on the other ſide the Portraiture of the Houſe of Commons Sitting, circumſcribed, *In the firſt Year of Freedom by God's bleſſing reſtor'd*, 1648. The Cuſtody of this Great Seal was committed to three Lawyers, whereof one had ſate among the King's Judges, and the others had contributed too much to their Service. All things being now in this good Order, they ſent for their Judges, to agree upon the formality and circumſtances of Proceedings. For it was declared by the Parliament, “that they were fully reſolv'd to maintain, and uphold the Fundamental Laws of the Nation, in order to the “preſervation of the Lives, Property, and Liberty of the People, notwithſtanding all the alterations made in the Government for the good of the People: And the Writs were no more to run in the King's Name, as they had always done, but the Name, Style, and Teſt, to be *Cuſtodes Libertatis Angliæ, Authoritate Parliamenti.* If it were not a thing ſo notoriouſly known, it could not be believ'd, that of twelve Judges, whereof ten were of their own making, and the other two had quietly ſubmitted, from the beginning of the War, to the Authority that govern'd, ſix laid down their places, and could not give themſelves leave to accept Commiſſions from the new Eſtabliſhed Power. So aguiſh and fantaſtical a thing is the Conſcience of Men who have once departed from the Rule of Conſcience, in hope to be permitted to adhere to it again upon a leſs preſſing occaſion.

Six of their own Judges give up.

How ſome Neighbouring Princes took the King's Murther.

IT will be requiſite, at leaſt it may not be unfit, to reſt and make a pauſe in this place, to take a view, with what Countenance the Kings and Princes of *Chriſtendom* had their Eyes fixed upon this ſad and bloody Spectacle; how they looked upon that iſſue of Blood, at which their own ſeem'd to be ſo prodigally poured out; with what conſternation their Hearts labour'd to ſee the Impious Hands of the loweſt and baſeſt Subjects bathing in the Bowels, and reeking Blood of their Soveraign; a Brother King, the Anointed of the Lord, diſmember'd as a Malefactor; what Combination, and Union was enter'd into, to take vengeance upon thoſe Monſters, and to vindicate the Royal Blood thus wickedly ſpilt. Alas! there was ſcarce a murmur amongſt any of them at it; but, as if they had been all called upon in the Language of the Prophet *Iſaiah, Go, ye ſwift Meſſengers, to a Nation ſcattered, and peeled, to a People terrible from the beginning hitherto, to a Nation meted out, and troden down, whoſe Lands the Rivers have ſpoiled,* they made haſt, and ſent over, that they might get ſhares in the Spoils of a Murthered Monarch.

CARDINAL *Mazarin*, who, in the Infancy of the *French* King, managed that Scepter, had long adored the Conduct of *Cromwell*, and ſought his Friendſhip by a lower and viler application than was ſuitable to the Purple of a Cardinal. ſent now to be admitted as a Merchant to traffick in the purchaſe of the rich Goods and Jewels of the rifled Crown, of which he purchaſed the rich Beds, Hangings, and Carpets, which furniſh'd his Palace at *Paris*. The King of *Spain* had, from the beginning of the Rebellion, kept *Don Alonzo de Cardinas*, who had been his Embaſſadour to the King, reſiding ſtill at *London*, and He had, upon ſeveral occaſions, many Audiences from the Parliament, and ſeveral Treaties on foot; and aſſoon as this diſmal Murther was over, that Embaſſadour, who had always a great malignity towards the King, bought as many Pictures, and other precious Goods appertaining to the Crown, as, being ſent in Ships to the *Corunna* in *Spain*, were carried from thence to *Madrid* upon eighteen Mules. *Chriſtina* Queen of *Sweden* purchaſed the choice of all the Medals, and Jewels, and ſome Pictures of a great price, and receiv'd the Parliament's Agent with great Joy, and Pomp, and made an Alliance with them. The Arch-Duke *Leopold*, who was Governour of *Flanders*, disburſed a great Sum of Money for many of the beſt Pictures, which adorn'd the ſeveral Palaces of the King; which were all brought to him to *Bruſſels*, and from thence carried by him into *Germany*. In this manner did the Neighbour Princes joyn to aſſiſt *Cromwell* with very great Sums of Money, whereby he was enabled to proſecute, and finiſh his wicked Victory over what yet remain'd unconquer'd, and to extinguiſh Monarchy in this renown'd Kingdom; whilſt they enrich'd and adorn'd themſelves with the Ruins and Spoils of the ſurviving Heir, without applying any part thereof to his Relief, in the greateſt neceſſities which ever King was ſubject to. And that which is ſtranger than all this (ſince moſt Men, by recovering their Fortunes, uſe to recover moſt of what they were before robb'd of, many who joyn'd in the Robbery pretending that they took care to preſerve it for the true Owner) not one of all theſe Princes ever reſtored any of their unlawful purchaſes to the King, after his bleſſed Reſtoration.

WHILST theſe perfidious wretches had their hands ſtill reeking in the precious Blood of their Soveraign, they were put upon a new piece of Butchery, as neceſſary to the Eſtabliſhment of their new Tyranny. The King was no ſooner dead, but they declared, as hath been ſaid, "that from this time "*England* ſhould be govern'd as a Common-wealth by the "Parliament; that is, by that handful of Men, who by their Wiſdom and Power had wrought this wonderful alteration. And becauſe the number of thoſe appear'd very ſmall, and the number of thoſe they had excluded was as viſible, they made an Order and Declaration, "that as many of the Mem-"bers who had been excluded, as would under their hands "approve all that had been done during the time they were "excluded, ſhould return to their Seats in the Houſe without "any prejudice for the future. Hereupon divers went again into the Houſe, ſatisfying themſelves that they were not guilty of the Innocent Royal Blood that had been ſpilt; and o their number increaſed. They had made a new Great Seal, as hath been ſaid, and called the Commiſſioners, who were entruſted with the keeping thereof, *The Keepers of the Liberties of England* And the Court of King's Bench they called he *Upper Bench*, and appointed certain Perſons to conſider of ſuch alterations as were neceſſary to be made in the Laws of *England*, in regard of ſo important a mutation. That they might have ſome obligation of Obedience from their Subjects or the future, who had broken all the former Oaths which they had taken, a new Oath was prepared and eſtabliſhed, which they called an *Engagement*; the form whereof was, that every Man ſhould ſwear, “that he would be true and “faithful to the Government eſtabliſhed without King or “Houſe of Peers: and whoſoever refuſed to take that Engagement ſhould be incapable of holding any Place, or Office n Church or State. The neceſſity of taking which Oath did not only exclude all of the Royal Party, but freed them from very many who had Offices in Church and State, who, being of the Presbyterian Party, durſt not ſacrifice their beloved Covenant to this new Engagement. And ſo they filled many conſiderable Places both in the one, and the other, with Men hroughly prepared for their Service. But before they could model and finiſh all this, and whilſt it was preparing, they had, in ſeveral parts of the Kingdom, terrified the People with Blood-Spectacles, in the executing many of the Perſons who had been taken. And that all hopes and pretences might be taken away from their Subjects, the Peers of *England*, that hey ſhould hereafter have any thing to do in declaring what he fundamental Laws of the Land were, a new High Court of Juſtice was appointed to ſit for the Trial of Duke *Hamil on*, the Earl of *Holland*, the Earl of *Norwich*, the Lord *Capel*, nd another Gentleman, one Sr *John Owen* (who, having een heretofore a Colonel in the King's Army, had, in a late nſurrection in *Wales*, killed the High Sheriff) that they might ſee there ſhould hereafter be no more diſtinction of Quality in Trials for Life, but that the greateſt Lord and the Commoners ſhould undergo the ſame Judicatory, and form of Trial. Nor could it be thought unreaſonable, that all the Creations of the Crown ſhould be determin'd by that juriſdiction to which the Crown it ſelf had been ſubjected.

An Oath impoſed called the Engagement.

A new High Court of Juſtice ſits; and ſeveral Trials before them.

DUKE *Hamilton* could not well be thought other than a Priſoner of War, and ſo not liable to a Trial for his Life. He had attempted to make an Eſcape; in which he had ſo well ſucceeded, that he was out of his Enemies hands full three days; but, being impatient to be at a greater diſtance from them, he was apprehended as he was taking Horſe in

Duke Hamilton firſt Tried.

Southwark;

Then the Earl of Holland.

The Earl of Norwich.

Southwark; and carried Priſoner into the Tower; from whenc
he was brought, with the others, before that High Court o
Juſtice. He inſiſted upon "the Right and Privilege of th
"Kingdom of *Scotland*; that it had not the leaſt Dependenc
"upon the Kingdom of *England*, but was entirely Govern'
"by its own Laws: that He, being a Subject of that King
"dom, was bound to obey the Commands thereof; and th
"Parliament of that Kingdom having thought it neceſſary t
"raiſe an Army for the relief of their King, and conſtitute
"Him General of that Army, it was not lawful for him t
"refuſe the Command thereof; and whatever misfortune h
"had undergone with it, he could not be underſtood to b
"liable to any puniſhment but what a Priſoner of War wa
"bound to undergo. He was told, "that the Rights an
"Laws of the Kingdom of *Scotland* were not called in Que
"ſtion, nor could be violated by Their proceedings again
"Him, who was a Subject of *England*; againſt which he wa
"charged with Rebellion and Treaſon: that they did no
"proceed againſt him as Duke *Hamilton* of *Scotland*, but a
"Earl of *Cambridge* in *England*, and they would judge hi
"as ſuch. The Earl of *Holland* was not at that time in a goo
diſpoſition of Health, and ſo Anſwer'd little, as a Man th
would rather receive his life by their favour, than from th
ſtrength of his defence. The Earl of *Norwich* behaved him
ſelf with great ſubmiſſion to the Court, and with all tho
Addreſſes as were moſt like to reconcile his Judges to him
and to prevail over their Affections: ſpoke of "his bein
"bred up in the Court, from his Cradle, in the time
"Queen *Elizabeth*; of his having been a Servant to Kin
"*James* all his Reign; of his dependence upon Prince *Harr*
"afterwards, upon the late King; of the obligations he ha
"to the Crown, and of his Endeavours to ſerve it; and co
cluded as a Man that would be beholding to them if the
would give him leave to live.

The Lord Capel.

THE Lord *Capel* appear'd undaunted, and utterly refuſ
to ſubmit to their juriſdiction; "that in the condition an
"capacity of a Soldier and a Priſoner of War, he ſaid, t
"Lawyers and Gown-men had nothing to do with him, an
"therefore he would not Anſwer to any thing which the
"had ſaid againſt him (*Steel* having treated him with gre
rudeneſs and inſolence) but inſiſted upon "the Law of N
"tions, which exempted all Priſoners, though ſubmitting
"Mercy, from death, if it was not inflicted within ſo ma
"days; which were long ſince expired. He urged "the D
"claration which *Fairfax* the General had made to Him, a
"the reſt of the Priſoners, after the death of S^{r} *Charles Luc*
"and S^{r} *George Liſle*, that no other of their Lives ſhould

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‘ in danger, which he had Witneſſes ready to prove, if they ‘ might be admitted; and concluded, “ that, if he had committed any Offence worthy of death, he might be tried by ‘ his Peers; which was his Right by the Laws of the Land; ‘ the benefit whereof he required. *Ireton*, who was preſent, nd ſate as one of his Judges, denied “ that the General had ‘ made any ſuch promiſe, and if he had, that the Parliament's Authority could not be reſtrain'd thereby; and put im in mind of his Carriage at that time, and how much he eglected then the General's civility. The other inſiſted ſtill n the promiſe; and urged “ that the General might be ſent ‘ for, and examin'd; which they knew not how to deny, ut, in regard of his indiſpoſition of Health, they ſaid “ they ‘ would ſend to him, whilſt they proceeded againſt Sr *John* ‘ *Owen*, who was the other Priſoner.

He Anſwer'd them without any application, “ that he was ‘ a plain Gentleman of *Wales*, who had been always taught ‘ to obey the King; that he had ſerv'd him honeſtly during ‘ the War, and finding afterwards that many honeſt Men endeavour'd to raiſe Forces, whereby they might get him ‘ out of Priſon, He did the like; and the High Sheriff endeavour'd to oppoſe him, and ſo chanced to be kill'd; which ‘ he might have avoided if he had ſtaid at home: and conluded like a Man that did not much care what they reſolv'd oncerning him. *Sr John Owen.*

Whether the Queſtion was well ſtated to *Fairfax*, or hat was elſe ſaid to him to diſſwade him from owning his eclaration and promiſe, he boggled ſo much in his Anſwer, hat they would be of opinion, “ that he had not made ſuch ‘ direct and poſitive promiſe; and that the ſame was never ‘ tranſmitted to the Parliament; which it ought to have been; ‘ and that, at moſt, it could but exempt thoſe Priſoners from ‘ being tried before a Court, or Council of War, and could ‘ not be underſtood as an obligation upon the Parliament, ‘ not to give direction to ſuch a legal Proceeding againſt ‘ them, as they ſhould find neceſſary for the Peace, and ‘ Safety of the Kingdom. The Preſident *Bradſhaw* told the ord *Capel*, with many inſolent expreſſions, “ that he was ‘ tried before ſuch Judges as the Parliament thought fit to ‘ aſſign him; and who had judged a better Man than himſelf. o the Sentence of death was pronounced againſt all five of hem, “ that they ſhould loſe their heads; upon which Sr *John* *wen* made a low reverence, and gave them humble thanks, nd being asked by a Stander by, “ what he meant? he ſaid loud, “ it was a very great honour to a poor Gentleman of ‘ *Wales* to loſe his head with ſuch noble Lords; and ſwore a reat Oath, “ that he was afraid they would have hanged him. *All five condemn'd.*

THE Priſoners were all carried to St *James's*; where they were to remain till their Execution two days after; which time their Friends, and Relations, had to endeavour to preſerve their lives by the Power and Authority of the Parliament; where there were ſo many ſitting who had not ſate in judgement upon them, and who were of ſeveral Affections, and liable to ſeveral temptations, that there might be a reaſonable hope to reſcue them from the cruel and unjuſt Judgement. Their Wives, and Children, and Friends, left no way untried to prevail; offer'd, and gave Money to ſome who were willing to receive it, and made promiſes accordingly. But they who had the greateſt credit, and moſt power to terrify others who ſhould diſpleaſe them, were inexorable; yet dealt ſo much more honeſtly than the reſt, that they declared to the Ladies, who ſollicited for their Husbands and their Fathers, "that they would not endeavour to do them Service. *Ireton*, above all Men, continued his inſolent and dogged humour, and told them, "if He had credit, they ſhould all dye. Others, who gave better Words, had no better Meaning than he.

ALL their Petitions were read in order, being penn'd in ſuch Styles as the Friends, who ſollicited for them, were adviſed. Duke *Hamilton*'s Petition being read, many, upon the motives of Juſtice, and as they imagined his death might be the occaſion of new Troubles between the two Nations, ſince *Scotland* could not but reſent it, would have been willing he ſhould live. But he had fewer Friends to his Perſon than any of the reſt; and *Cromwell* knew well that his being ou of the way would not be unacceptable to them upon whom the Peace of that Kingdom depended: ſo that when his Petition was read, it was rejected by very much the Major par of Voices. The conſideration of the Earl of *Holland* took u a long Debate: the Intereſt and Interpoſition of the Earl o *Warwick*, his Brother, was apply'd; and every Presbyterian to a Man, was ſollicitous to preſerve him. They urged "hi "merit towards the Parliament in the beginning of the Trou-"bles; how much he had ſuffer'd in the Court for his Affe-"ction to them: his Age, and Infirmities, which would no "ſuffer him long to enjoy that Life they ſhould give him "and the conſideration of his Wife, and Children, which "were numerous. But theſe Arguments ſtirr'd up others, t inveigh againſt his backſlidings with the more bitterneſs, and to undervalue the Services he had ever done; to tax his Vanities, and his breach of Faith. When the Queſtion was pu concerning him, they who were for the Negative, exceeded the number of the other by three or four Votes; *Cromwe* having more than an ordinary Animoſity againſt him, for hi behaviou behaviour in the beginning of the Summer, and for ſome words of neglect and contempt he had let fall concerning himſelf. The Earl of *Norwich* came next upon the Stage; who having always liv'd a chearful and jovial Life, without contracting many Enemies, had many there who wiſh'd him well, and few who had Animoſity againſt him; ſo that when the Queſtion was put concerning him, the Houſe was equally divided, the Votes which rejected his Petition, and thoſe which would preſerve his Life, were equal: ſo that his Life or Death depended upon the ſingle Vote of the Speaker; who told the Houſe, “that he had receiv'd many obligations from “that Lord; and that once when he had been like to have “incurr'd the King's diſpleaſure, by ſome miſinformation, “which would have been very penal to him, the Lord *Goring* (under which ſtyle he was treated, the additional of *Norwich* not being allow'd by them upon their old Rule) “had “by his Credit preſerv'd him, and remov'd the Prejudice “that was againſt him; and therefore he was oblig'd in gra“titude to give his Vote for the ſaving him. By this good fortune he came to be preſerv'd; whether the ground of it were true or no, or whether the Speaker made it only as an excuſe for ſaving any Man's Life who was put to ask it in that place.

The Lord *Capel*, ſhortly after he was brought Priſoner to the Tower from *Windſor* Caſtle, had by a wonderful adventure, having a Cord and all things neceſſary convey'd to him, let himſelf down out of the Window of his Chamber in the Night, over the Wall of the Tower; and had been directed through what part of the Ditch he might be beſt able to wade. Whether he found the right place, or whether there was no ſafer place, he found the Water and the Mud ſo deep, that, if he had not been by the head taller than other Men, he muſt have periſhed, ſince the Water came up to his Chin. The way was ſo long to the other ſide, and the fatigue of drawing himſelf out of ſo much Mud ſo intolerable, that his Spirits were near ſpent, and he was once ready to call out for help, as thinking it better to be carried back again to the Priſon, than to be found in ſuch a place, from whence he could not extricate himſelf, and where he was ready to expire. But it pleaſed God, that he got at laſt to the other ſide; where his Friends expected him, and carried him to a Chamber in the Temple; where he remain'd two or three Nights ſecure from any diſcovery, notwithſtanding the diligence that could not but be uſed to recover a Man they deſign'd to uſe no better. After two or three days a Friend whom he truſted much, and who deſerv'd to be truſted, conceiving that he might be more ſecure in a place to which

there was leſs reſort, and where there were ſo many har
bour'd who were every day ſought after, had provided
Lodging for him in a private Houſe in *Lambeth* Marſh; an
calling upon him in an evening, when it was dark, to g
thither, they choſe rather to take any Boat they found read
at the Temple Stairs, than to truſt one of that People wit
the ſecret; and it was ſo late that there was one only Bo
left there. In that the Lord *Capel* (as well diſguis'd as h
thought neceſſary) and his Friend, put themſelves, and bi
the Water-man row them to *Lambeth*. Whether, in the
paſſage thither, the other Gentleman call'd him *my Lord*,
was confidently reported, or whether the Water-man ha
any jealouſy by obſerving what he thought was a diſguiſ
when they were landed, the wicked Water-man, undiſcern'
follow'd them, till he ſaw into what Houſe they went; an
then went to an Officer, and demanded, “what he wou
“give him to bring him to the place where the Lord *Cap*
“lay? And the Officer promiſing to give him ten pounds, h
led him preſently to the Houſe, where that excellent Perſo
was ſeiſed upon, and the next day carried to the Tower.

WHEN the Petition, that his Wife had deliver'd, w
read, many Gentlemen ſpoke on his behalf; and mention
the great Virtues which were in him; and “that he had n
“ver deceiv'd them, or pretended to be of their Party; b
“always reſolutely declar'd himſelf for the King: and *Crom*
well, who had known him very well, ſpoke ſo much goo
of him, and profeſs'd to have ſo much kindneſs and reſpe
for him, that all Men thought he was now ſafe, when h
concluded, “that his Affection to the Publick ſo muc
“weigh'd down his private Friendſhip, that he could not b
“tell them, that the Queſtion was now, whether they wou
“preſerve the moſt bitter and moſt implacable Enemy th
“had: that he knew the Lord *Capel* very well, and kne
“that he would be the laſt Man in *England* that would fo
“ſake the Royal Intereſt; that he had great Courage, Ind
“ſtry, and Generoſity; that he had many Friends who wou
“always adhere to him; and that as long as he liv'd, wh
“condition ſoever he was in, he would be a thorn in the
“ſides; and therefore, for the good of the Common-wealt
“he ſhould give his Vote againſt the Petition. *Ireton*'s H
tred was Immortal: he ſpake of him, and againſt him, as
a Man of whom he was heartily afraid. Very many we
ſway'd by the Argument that had been urg'd againſt Du
Hamilton, “that God was not pleas'd that he ſhould Eſcap
“becauſe He had put him into their hands again, when
“was at liberty. And ſo, after a long Debate, though the
was not a Man who had not a value for him, and very fe

who had a particular Malice, or Prejudice towards him, the Queſtion being put, the Negative was more by three or four Voices: So that, of the four Lords, three were without the Mercy of that Unmerciful People. There being no other Petition preſented, *Ireton* told them, “there had been great “Endeavours and Sollicitation us'd to ſave all thoſe Lords; “but that there was a Commoner, another condemn'd Perſon, for whom no one Man had ſpoke a word, nor had he himſelf ſo much as Petition'd them; and therefore he deſired, “that Sr *John Owen*, might be preſerv'd by the meer Motive, “and goodneſs of the Houſe it ſelf; which found little oppoſition; whether they were ſatiated with Blood, or that they were willing, by this Inſtance, that the Nobility ſhould ſee that a Commoner ſhould be preferr'd before them.

A SCAFFOLD was erected before *Weſtminſter* Hall, and all the Priſoners condemn'd were brought from St *James*'s (as well the two who were repriev'd, as the three who were to ſuffer) upon the ninth of *March*, that was at the end of the year 1648, a little more than a Month after the Murther of the King, to Sr *Thomas Cotton*'s Houſe, at the upper end of *Weſtminſter* Hall; where they were ſuffer'd to repoſe themſelves about the ſpace of an hour, and then were led ſucceſſively through the Hall to the Scaffold, Duke *Hamilton* being firſt; who ſeem'd yet to have ſome hope of a Reprieve, and made ſome ſtay in the Hall, till the Earl of *Denbigh* came to him; and, after a ſhort whiſper, in which he found there was no hope, he aſcended the Scaffold. He complain'd much of “the “injuſtice that was done him; and that he was put to death “for obeying the Laws of his Country; which if he had not “done, he muſt have been put to death there. He acknowledged the Obligations he had to the King, and ſeem'd not ſorry for the gratitude he had expreſſed, how dear ſoever it coſt him. His natural darkneſs, and reſervation in his diſcourſe, made him to be thought a Wiſe man, and his having been in Command under the King of *Sweden*, and his continual diſcourſes of Battles, and Fortifications, made him be thought a great Soldier. And both theſe miſtakes were the Cauſe that made him be looked upon as a worſe and a more dangerous Man, than in truth he deſerv'd to be.

Duke Hamilton beheaded March 9.

THE Earl of *Holland* was brought next, who, by his long ſickneſs, was ſo ſpent, that his Spirits ſerv'd not to entertain the People with long diſcourſe. He ſpoke of “his Religion, as a matter unqueſtionable, by the Education he had “had in the Religious Family of which he was a branch: which was thought a ſtrange diſcourſe for a dying Man, who, though a Son, knew enough of the iniquity of his Father's Houſe, which ſhould rather have been buried in ſilence, than,

The Earl of Holland *the ſame day.*

by ſuch an unſeaſonable Teſtimony, have been revived in the memory and diſcourſe of Men. He took more care to be thought a good friend to Parliaments, than a good Servant to his Maſter, and was thought to ſay too little of his having failed ſo much in his Duty to him, which moſt good Men believ'd to be the Source from whence his preſent calamity ſprung. He was a very well bred Man, and a fine Gentleman in good times; but too much deſired to enjoy eaſe and plenty, when the King could have neither; and did think Poverty the moſt inſupportable evil that could befal any Man in this world. He was then ſo weak that he could not have liv'd long; and when his head was cut off, very little blood follow'd.

The Lord Capel,

THE Lord *Capel* was then called; who walked through *Weſtminſter* Hall, ſaluting ſuch of his Friends and Acquaintance as he ſaw there, with a very ſerene Countenance, accompanied with his Friend Dr *Morley*; who had been with him from the time of his Sentence; but, at the foot of the Scaffold, the Soldiers ſtopping the Dr, his Lordſhip took his leave o him; and, embracing him, thanked him; and ſaid, he ſhould go no farther, having ſome apprehenſion that he might receive ſome affront by that rude People after his death; th Chaplains who attended the two other Lords, being Men o the time, and the Dr being well known to be moſt contrary.

ASSOON as his Lordſhip had aſcended the *Scaffold*, h looked very vigorouſly about, and asked, "whether the othe "Lords had ſpoken to the People with their Hats on? and "being told, that "they were bare; he gave his Hat to hi Servant, and then with a clear and a ſtrong voice, he ſaid, "tha "he was brought thither to dye for doing that which h "could not repent of: that he had been born, and bred under the Government of a King whom he was bound in Conſcience to obey; under Laws, to which he had been alway "obedient; and in the boſom of a Church, which he though "the beſt in the world: that he had never violated his Fait "to either of thoſe, and was now condemn'd to dye againſ "all the Laws of the Land; to which Sentence he did ſubmit.

HE enlarged himſelf in commending "the great Virtu "and Piety of the King, whom they had put to death; wh "was ſo juſt and ſo merciful a Prince; and prayed to God "to forgive the Nation that innocent Blood. Then he recommended to them the preſent King; who, he told them "was their true and their Lawful Soveraign; and was worth "to be ſo: that he had the honour to have been ſome year "near his Perſon, and therefore he could not but know him "well; and aſſured them, "that he was a Prince of great un “derſtanding, of an excellent Nature, of great Courage, an “entire Lover of Juſtice, and of exemplary Piety: that he “was not to be ſhaken in his Religion; and had all thoſe “Princely Virtues, which could make a Nation happy: and therefore adviſed them “to ſubmit to his Government, as “the only means to preſerve themſelves, their poſterity, and “the Proteſtant Religion. And having, with great vehemence, recommended it to them, after ſome prayers very devoutly pronounced upon his Knees, he ſubmitted himſelf, with an unparallel'd Chriſtian Courage, to the fatal ſtroke, which depriv'd the Nation of the nobleſt Champion it had.

The Lord Capel's *Character.*

HE was a Man in whom the Malice of his Enemies could diſcover very few faults, and whom his Friends could not wiſh better accompliſhed; whom *Cromwell*'s own Character well deſcribed; and who indeed would never have been contented to have liv'd under that Government. His Memory all Men loved and reverenced, though few follow'd his Example. He had always liv'd in a State of great plenty and general eſtimation, having a very noble Fortune of his own by deſcent, and a fair Addition to it by his Marriage with an excellent Wife, a Lady of very worthy Extraction, of great Virtue and Beauty, by whom he had a numerous Iſſue of both Sexes, in which he took great Joy and Comfort: ſo that no Man was more happy in all his Domeſtick Affairs; and he was ſo much the more happy, in that he thought himſelf moſt bleſſed in them.

AND yet the King's Honour was no ſooner violated, and his juſt power invaded, than he threw all thoſe bleſſings behind him; and having no other obligations to the Crown, than thoſe which his own Honour and Conſcience ſuggeſted to him, he frankly engaged his Perſon and his Fortune from the beginning of the Troubles, as many others did, in all Actions and Enterpriſes of the greateſt hazard and danger; and continued to the end, without ever making one falſe ſtep, as few others did, though he had once, by the iniquity of a Faction, that then prevailed, an indignity put upon him that might have excuſed him for ſome remiſſion of his former warmth. But it made no other impreſſion upon him, than to be quiet and contented, whilſt they would let him alone, and, with the ſame chearfulneſs, to obey the firſt Summons when he was called out; which was quickly after. In a word, he was a Man, that whoever ſhall, after Him, deſerve beſt of the *Engliſh* Nation, he can never think himſelf undervalued, when he ſhall hear, that his Courage, Virtue, and Fidelity, is laid in the Ballance with, and compared to that of the Lord *Capel.*

The Concl
ſion and Ch
cter of t
year 1648

SO ended the year one thouſand ſix hundred forty eight; a year of Reproach and Infamy above all years which had paſſed before it; a year of the higheſt diſſimulation and hypocriſy, of the deepeſt Villainy and moſt bloody Treaſons, that any Nation was ever curſed with, or under: a year, in which the Memory of all the Tranſactions ought to be raſed out of all Records, leſt, by the ſucceſs of it, Atheiſm, Infidelity, and Rebellion, ſhould be propagated in the world: a year, of which We may ſay, as the Hiſtorian ſaid of the time of *Domitian*, *Sicut vetus ætas vidit, quid ultimum in libertate eſſet, ita nos quid in ſervitute*; or, as the ſame Writer ſays of a time not altogether ſo wicked, *is habitus animorum fuit, ut peſſimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur.*

THE END OF THE ELEVENTH BOOK.

THE

THE
Hiſtory of the Rebellion, &c.

BOOK XII.

2 Chron. XXVIII. 10.

And now ye purpoſe to keep under the Children of Judah and Jeruſalem for bond-men and bond-women unto you: but are there not with you, even with you, Sins againſt the Lord your God?

Iſa. XXIX. 10.

For the Lord hath poured out upon you the Spirit of deep ſleep, and hath cloſed your eyes: the Prophets and your Rulers, the Seers hath he covered.

The young King's con dition at t Hague.

WHILST theſe Tragedies were acting in *England*, and Ordinances form'd, as hath been ſaid, to make it penal in the higheſt degree for any Man to aſſume the Title of King, or to acknowlege any Man to be ſo, the King himſelf remain'd in a very diſconſolate Condition at the *Hague*. Though he had known the deſperate ſtate his Father was long in, yet the barbarous ſtroke ſo ſurpriſed him, that he was in all the Confuſion imaginable, and all about him were almoſt bereft of their underſtanding. The truth is, it can hardly be conceiv'd, with what a conſternation this terrible News was receiv'd by all, even by the Common People of that Country. There was a Woman at the *Hague*, of the midling Rank, who, being with Child, with the Horror of the mention of it, fell into Travel, and in it died. There could not be more Evidence of a general deteſtation, than there was, amongſt all Men of what Quality *he States ondole with im.*

ſoever. Within two or three days, which they gave to the King's recollection, the States preſented themſelves in a Body to his Majeſty, to condole with him for the Murther of his Father, in terms of great Sorrow, ſave that there was not bitterneſs enough againſt the Rebels and Murtherers. The States of *Holland*, apart, perform'd the ſame Civility towards his Majeſty; and the Body of the Clergy, in a Latin Oration, deliver'd by the Chief Preacher of the *Hague*, lamented the Misfortune, in terms of as much aſperity, and deteſtation of the Actors, as unworthy the name of Chriſtians, as could be expreſſed.

THE deſperateneſs of the King's Condition, could not excuſe the ſinking under the Burthen of his Grief: but thoſe who were about him beſought him to reſume ſo much Courage as was neceſſary for his preſent State. He thereupon cauſed thoſe of his Father's Council who had attended him, to be ſworn of his Privy Council, adding only Mr *Long* his Secretary; who, before, was not of the Council. All which was done before he heard from the Queen hs Mother; who, notwithſtanding the great Agony ſhe was in, which without doubt was as great a paſſion of Sorrow as ſhe was able to ſuſtain, wrote to the King, "that he could not do better, "than to repair into *France* aſſoon as was poſſible, and, in "the mean time, deſired him, not to ſwear any Perſons to be "of his Council, till She could ſpeak with him. Whether it was, that ſhe did not think thoſe Perſons to be enough at her Devotion; or that ſhe would have them receive that Honour upon her recommendation.

he new ouncil worn.

The Queen's irſt Meſſage to him.

THE King himſelf had no mind to go into *France*, where he thought he had not been treated with exceſs of Courteſy; and he reſolv'd to perform all Filial reſpect towards the Queen his Mother, without ſuch a condeſcenſion and reſignation of himſelf, as ſhe expected; and to avoid all Eclarciſments upon that Subject, he heartily deſired that any other Courſe might be found more Counſellable than that he ſhould go into *France*. He himſelf liv'd with, and upon the Prince of *Orange*; who ſupplied him with all things neceſſary for his own Perſon, for his Mourning, and the like: but towards any other ſupport for himſelf and his Family, his Majeſty had not enough to maintain them one day: and there were fery few of them who could maintain themſelves in the moſt private way: and it was viſible enough, that they ſhould not be long able to reſide in the *Hague*; where there was, at that very time, an Agent for the Parliament, *Strickland*; who had been there ſome years, but pretended then to reſide there with his Wife (who was born in *Holland* of *Engliſh* Parents) and without any publick Character, though he was ſtill under the ſame Credentials. And their Advertiſements from *London* aſſured them, that the Parliament had nominated one, who was preſently to be ſent as their Embaſſadour, or Envoy to the States, to give them an Account of their Affairs, and to invite them to enter into an Alliance with them. So that it was time to think of ſome other Retreat for the King; and none appear'd then ſo ſeaſonable in their view, as *Ireland*; from whence they heard, "that Prince *Rupert* was arriv'd "ſafely at *Kinſale* with the Fleet: that the Lord *Inchiquin* had "made a Ceſſation with the *Iriſh*, before the Lord Lieute- "nant came thither; and the *Iriſh* had deſerted the Pope's "Nuntio, who was driven away, and had Embarked himſelf "for *France*: that the Marquis of *Ormond* was receiv'd by the "Lord *Inchiquin* with all the Obedience imaginable, by which "he became entirely poſſeſſed of the whole Province of *Mun-* "*ſter*; and that the Confederate Roman Catholicks had in- "vited him to *Kilkenny*; where he had made a full Peace "with them: ſo that they were preparing an Army to march "under his Command againſt *Dublin*. This News made them hope, that every day would improve it ſo much, that it would be fit for the King to Tranſport his own Perſon thither in the Spring.

*The King thinks of going into Ire*land. *The Affairs ther at that time*

IN this conjuncture there arriv'd a Gentleman, one Sr *Joſeph Douglaſs*, with a Letter from the Privy Council of *Scotland*, by which they ſent his Majeſty word that they had proclaim'd him King of *Scotland*; and ſent him the Proclamation; and wiſh'd "that he would prepare himſelf "to repair into that his Kingdom; in order to which "they would ſpeedily ſend another Invitation to him. And that Invitation arriv'd at the ſame time with ſome Commiſſioners deputed by the Council, and three or four Preachers ſent from the Commiſſioners of the Kirk. The Proclamation indeed declar'd, "For that as much as the "late King was, contrary to the Diſſent and Proteſtation of "that Kingdom, remov'd by a violent death, that, by the "Lord's Bleſſing, there was left unto them a righteous Heir, "and lawful Succeſſor, *Charles* &c. who was become their true "and lawful King; but upon condition of "his good beha- "viour, and ſtrict obſervation of the Covenant, and his en- "tertaining no other Perſons about him but ſuch as were God- "ly Men, and faithful to that obligation. A Proclamation ſo ſtrangely worded, that, though it call'd him their King, manifeſted enough to him, that he was to be ſubject to Their determinations, in all the parts of his Government. And the Commiſſioners, both Laity and Clergy, ſpoke no other Language; and ſaving that they bowed their Bodies, and made low Reverences, they appear'd more like Embaſſadors

The King proclaim'd Scotland *and Commi ſioners then ſent to him.*

from a free State to an equal Ally, than like Subjects ſent to their own Soveraign. At the ſame time, though not in the ſame Ship, arriv'd likewiſe from *Scotland* the Earl of *Lanrick*, and Earl of *Lautherdale*; the former not knowing, till he came into *Holland*, that he was Duke *Hamilton* by the ſlaughter of his Elder Brother. But they two were ſo far from having any Authority from their Country, that they were fled from thence as proſcrib'd Perſons and Malefactors. The Earl of *Lautherdale*, after his departure from the *Hague*, in that diſcontent that is mention'd before, bent his courſe for *Scotland*. But before he came thither, he was inform'd, that the ſtate of all things had been revers'd, and the Engagement declar'd unlawful, and to what penalties himſelf was liable, if he ſhould be taken. Whereupon, without ſuffering his Ship to go into any Port, he found means to ſend on ſhore to ſome Friends, and ſo to concert all things, that without being diſcover'd, the Earl of *Lanrick*, and ſome other Perſons, liable to danger if they were found, put themſelves on board the ſame Ship, and arriv'd in *Holland* about that time when the other Meſſengers from the State and from the Kirk came from *Scotland*, and when the News came of the Execution of Duke *Hamilton*.

nrick, *o Duke* milton, *d* Lau- erdale, *ne to him o.*

a Chara- r of this uke Ha ilton.

Whereupon the new Duke kept his Chamber for ſome days, without ſo much as waiting on the King; who ſent a gracious Meſſage to him to condole for the loſs of his Brother; and all the Lords, and other Perſons of Quality about the King, made their viſits to him with all civility. This Duke was not inferior in Wiſdom, and Parts of Underſtanding, to the wiſeſt Man of that Nation, and was very much eſteem'd by thoſe who did not like the complying, and inſinuating Nature of his Brother. He was a Man of great Honour, Courage, and ſincerity in his Nature, and, which was a rare virtue in the Men of that time, was ſtill the ſame Man he pretended to be; and had very much to ſay in his own defence for the Errors he had run into; which he acknowledg'd always with great ingenuity, and abhorr'd the whole proceedings of his Country-men; and, at this time, brought a heart, and affection clearer and leſs clogg'd with ſcruples and reſervations, for the King's ſervice, than any other of them did.

econdition Scotland *out this me.*

Though *Cromwell*, at his being in *Scotland*, had left *Argyle* in full Poſſeſſion of the Government there, and had reduc'd, and disbanded all thoſe who were in Arms againſt him, and promis'd him all neceſſary aſſiſtance to ſubdue thoſe who ſhould riſe againſt him in that Kingdom for the future, and thereby compell'd the Committee of Eſtates to convene, and ſummon the Parliament to Aſſemble, which they had authority to do; and ſo he had ſuppreſs'd the Party of *Hamilton*, driven the Earl of *Lanrick* to hide himſelf in ſome obſcure place, and condemn'd the Engagement as unlawful and ſinful, and all the Perſons who advanced and promoted it, as Deſerters of the Covenant, and ſo to ſtand Excommunicated, and not to be capable of ſerving in Parliament, or in the Council of Eſtate; ſo that he was ſure to find no oppoſition in whatſoever he propos'd; yet, after the Parliament had ſerv'd him ſo far, when they heard that the Parliament in *England* was broken, and their Freedom and Privileges were taken from them by the inſolence, and power of the Army (which they perfectly hated and deteſted, and all thoſe Sects and Libertiniſm they heard were introduc'd in Religion contrary to their Covenant, which *Cromwell* himſelf had promis'd ſhould be ſtrictly obſerv'd) they begun to examine, what the obligations were which were incumbent upon them even by the Covenant it ſelf. The delivery of the King's Perſon into the hands of the Parliament at *New-Caſtle* had been, in the inſtant it was done, the moſt unpopular and ungracious act to the whole Nation of *Scotland*, that it had been ever guilty of, and to the Army they had then on foot, which took it ſelf to be deeply wounded by the infamy of it, and was therefore quickly diſbanded by the cunning of *Argyle*: and the univerſal indignation againſt that Action was the principal incitement to that general Engagement with Duke *Hamilton*, that the honour of the Nation might in ſome degree be repair'd, or redeem'd. It was a groſs overſight in the *Hamiltonian* Party, and diſcern'd then to be ſo by the Earl of *Lanrick*, that, upon that Popular advantage, in which he would have found an univerſal concurrence, *Argyle* himſelf and all his Faction had not been totally ſuppreſs'd, for the redemption of the honour of their Country. But that Duke's Politicks did not lie that way; and, ſo he might return to his old Poſt of favour in *England*, of which he made little doubt, he was not willing to give a new beginning to thoſe bloody Enterpriſes in *Scotland*, which, he knew well, uſed not to be ſhort-liv'd in that Climate after once begun, but had always freſh Sacrifices of Blood to perpetuate the memory of them.

THEY had no ſooner heard of the erection of a High Court of Juſtice, and of a purpoſe of Trying the King for his Life, than, notwithſtanding all the Artifices *Argyle* could uſe, they were all in a flame. As well the Aſſembly of the Kirk, as the Parliament, renew'd the ſenſe they always had of reproach in the delivery of his Perſon, of which the preſent danger he was in was the conſequence. And the Marquis of *Argyle* had had too deep a ſhare in that wickedneſs, to endure the ſhock of a new diſpute, and inquiſition upon that ſubject; and therefore gave not the leaſt oppoſition to their paſſion; but ſeem'd

Commiſſioners had been ſent from the Parliament of Scotland *before the death of the King to the Parliament of* England.

equally concern'd in the honour of the Nation, to proſecute an high Expoſtulation with thoſe of *England*, for the breach of Faith, and the Promiſes, which had been made for the ſafety, and preſervation of the King's Perſon, at the time he was deliver'd up; and therefore propos'd, “that Commiſſioners “ſhould be forthwith ſent to the Parliament at *London*, to re“quire the performance of what they had promiſed, and to “enter their diſſent, and proteſtation againſt all their Pro“ceedings againſt their King, in the Name of the Kingdom “of *Scotland*. And the Earl of *Lothian*, and two others, who were known to be moſt zealous for the Covenant, and moſt enrag'd and incens'd againſt the proceedings of the Army, were made choice of, and preſently ſent away, that they might make all poſſible haſt to *Weſtminſter*, and were, immediately upon their Arrival, to demand permiſſion to wait upon the King, wherever he ſhould be, and to receive from him ſuch farther directions, as he ſhould judge neceſſary for his ſervice.

THUS far *Argyle* could not oppoſe; and therefore was as zealous as any Man to advance it; knowing that the particular Inſtructions muſt be prepar'd by a leſs number of Men, and not ſubjected to the examination and peruſal of ſo many. And in thoſe, he was ſure to prevent any inconvenient Powers to be granted to the Commiſſioners, with whom he had Credit enough, having made the Earl of *Lothian* Secretary of State, in the place of the Earl of *Lanrick*, and the other two being (however ſollicitous for the due obſervation of the Covenant, as he himſelf likewiſe pretended to be) known to be moſt averſe from the *Hamiltonian* Party. Their private Inſtructions were, “that they ſhould not, in their enlargements and “aggravations upon the ſubject of their Meſſage, ſeem to take “notice, or to imply, that any violence had been us'd againſt “the Parliament, or any Member of it: That they ſhould be “ſo ſhort in their expoſtulations, that they gave no occaſion of “offence: That nothing ſhould fall from them juſtifying the “King's Proceedings, nor in approbation of the late Engage“ment, or which might import a breach, or give, or be “ground of a new War: They ſhould urge, that the Parlia“ment would delay to meddle with the King's Perſon, accord“ing to their ſeveral Promiſes, and Declarations at *New-Ca“ſtle*, and at *Holmby*: That if they ſhould proceed to ſentence “againſt the King, then they were to enter their diſſent and “proteſt, that this Kingdom may be free from the Miſeries “which will inevitably follow, without offering in their rea“ſons, that Princes are exempted from Trial and Juſtice: “That none in the Parliament of *Scotland* hath, or had any “hand in the proceedings againſt the King, or Members of

heir pri- ate Inſtru- ions from rgyle's Party.

“Parliament in *England*. If they proceed, then to ſhew the Calamities that will follow, and how grievous it muſt be to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, conſidering his being deliver'd up at *New-Caſtle*: That if the Papers which were intitul'd *The Agreement of the People*, appear'd to be countenanced, and ſhould import any thing concerning the Proceſſing of the Prince, or changing the Fundamental Government of the Kingdom, they ſhould enter their diſſent: That they ſhould alter thoſe their Inſtructions, and manage their Truſt therein, according to the advice they ſhould receive from their Friends there: That they ſhould proſecute their Inſtructions concerning the Covenant, and againſt any Toleration: That they ſhould ſhew, that the King's laſt Conceſſions were unſatisfactory to thoſe Propoſitions which they had made in point of Religion.

THESE were their private Inſtructions; and who thoſe Friends at *London* were, by whoſe advice they were to alter their Inſtructions, or manage their Truſt therein, can be underſtood of no other Men but *Cromwell*, and young Sr *Harry Vane*; with whom *Argyle* held cloſe Correſpondence. The Commiſſioners obſerv'd their Inſtructions very faithfully, and after the King had been twice brought before the High Court of Juſtice, they gave in their very calm Proteſtation; in which they put them in mind, “that they had, near three Weeks before, repreſented to them what Endeavours had been us'd for taking away the King's Life, and for the change of the Fundamental Government of the Kingdom, and introducing a ſinful and ungodly Toleration in matters of Religion; and that therein they had expreſs'd their thoughts, and fears of the dangerous Conſequences, that might follow thereupon; and that they had alſo earneſtly preſs'd, that there might be no farther proceeding againſt his Majeſty's Perſon, which would certainly continue the great diſtractions of the Kingdom, and involve them in many Evils, Troubles, and Confuſions; but that, by the free Counſels of both Houſes of Parliament of *England*, and with the advice and conſent of the Parliament of *Scotland*, ſuch courſe might be taken in relation to the King, as might be for the good and happineſs of both Kingdoms; both having an unqueſtionable, and undeniable right in his Perſon, as King of both; which duly conſider'd, they had reaſon to hope, that it would have given a ſtop to all farther proceedings againſt his Majeſty's Perſon. But now underſtanding that after the Impriſonment, and Excluſion of divers Members of the Houſe of Commons, and without, and againſt the conſent of the Houſe of Peers, by a ſingle Act of their own, and Their's alone, power was given to certain Perſons of their own Members,

Upon the King's Trial they enter their Proteſtation and Diſſent.

"of the Army, and ſome others, to proceed againſt his Ma-
"jeſty's Perſon, in order whereunto he had been brought be-
"fore that extraordinary new Court; they did therefore in
"the Name of the Parliament of *Scotland*, for their vindica-
"tion from falſe Aſperſions and Calumnies, declare, that though
"they were not ſatisfied with his Majeſty's late Conceſſions,
"in the Treaty at *Newport* in the Iſle of *Wight*, eſpecially in
"the matters of Religion, and were reſolv'd not to crave his
"Reſtoration to his Government, before ſatisfaction ſhould
"be given by him to that Kingdom; yet they did all unani-
"mouſly with one voice, not one Member excepted, diſclaim
"the leaſt knowledge of, or occaſion to the late Proceedings
"of the Army here againſt the King; and did ſincerely pro-
"feſs that it would be a great grief to their Hearts, and li
"heavy upon their Spirits, if they ſhould ſee the truſting hi
"Majeſty's Perſon to the two Houſes of the Parliament o
"*England* to be made uſe of to his ruin, contrary to the de-
"clar'd Intentions of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and ſolem
"Profeſſions of the Kingdom of *England*: And to the end tha
"it might be manifeſt to the World, how much they di
"abominate and deteſt ſo horrid a deſign againſt his Maje
"jeſty's Perſon, they did, in the Name of the Parliament an
"Kingdom of *Scotland*, declare their diſſent from the ſai
"Proceedings, and the taking away of his Majeſty's Life; pro
"teſting, that as they were altogether free from the ſame, ſ
"they might be free from all the Miſeries, evil Conſequences
"and Calamities, that might follow thereupon to the diſtracte
"Kingdoms.

WHOEVER conſiders the warineſs in the wording, an
timing this Proteſtation, the beſt end whereof could be n
other than the keeping the King always in Priſon, and ſo go
verning without him in both Kingdoms (which was though
to have been the purpoſe and agreement of *Cromwell* an
Argyle when they parted) muſt conclude that both the Com
miſſioners, and they who ſent them, labour'd and conſider'
more, what they were to ſay in the future, than what the
were to do to prevent the preſent Miſchief they ſeem'd t
apprehend. And the Parliament beſt knew their tempe
when they deferr'd taking notice of their Proteſtation, till a
ter they had executed their execrable Villainy; and the
they ſent them an Anſwer that might ſuit with all their P
lates. They ſaid, "they had heretofore told them, what powe
"this Nation had in the Fundamentals of Government: Th
"if *Scotland* had not the ſame Power and Liberty, as the
"went not about to confine Them, ſo they would not b
"limited by them, but leaving them to act in Theirs as the
"ſhould ſee cauſe, they reſolv'd to maintain their own L

The Parliament after the King's Murther ſend their Anſwer to it.

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“berties as God ſhould enable them: And as they were very far from impoſing upon them, ſo they ſhould not willingly ſuffer impoſitions from them, whilſt God gave them ſtrength or lives to oppoſe them. They ſaid, “the Anſwer they made to their firſt and ſecond Letter was, that after a long and ſerious Deliberation of their own intrinſical Power, and Truſt (deriv'd to them by the Providence of God, through the delegation of the People) and upon the like conſiderations of what themſelves, and the whole Nation had ſuffer'd from the Miſgovernment, and Tyranny of that King, both in Peace, and by the Wars, and conſidering, how fruitleſs, and full of danger and prejudice the many Addreſſes to him for Peace had been, and being Conſcious how much they had provoked and tempted God, by the neglect of the impartial execution of Juſtice, in relation to the innocent Blood ſpilt and miſchief done in the late Wars, they had proceeded in ſuch a courſe of Juſtice againſt that Man of Blood, as they doubted not the juſt God (who is no reſpecter of Perſons) did approve and would countenance with his bleſſings upon the Nation; and though perhaps they might meet with many difficulties before their Liberties and Peace were ſettled, yet they hoped they ſhould be preſerv'd from Confuſion, by the good Will of him who dwelt in the buſh, which burn'd, and was not conſumed; and that the courſe they had taken with the late King, and meant to follow towards others the Capital Enemies of their Peace, was, they hoped, that which would be for the good and happineſs of both Nations; of which if that of *Scotland* would think to make uſe, and vindicate their own Liberty and Freedom (which lay before them, if they gave them not away) they would be ready to give them all Neighbourly and Friendly Aſſiſtance in the eſtabliſhing thereof; and deſired them to take it into their moſt ſerious conſideration, before they eſpouſed that quarrel, which could bring them no other advantage than the entailing upon Them, and their Poſterities, a laſting War, with all the Miſeries which attended it, and Slavery under a Tyrant and his Iſſue.

IT cannot be denied, but that *Scotland* had by this a fair Invitation to have made themſelves a poor Republick, under the Shelter and Protection of the other, that was already become terrible. But the Commiſſioners, who well knew how unſuitable ſuch a change would be to the conſtitution of their Government, and that they might be welcome to their own Country, whither they were now to repair, made a reply to this Anſwer with more Courage than they had yet expreſſed; for which, notwithſtanding their Qualification, they were Impriſon'd

The Commiſſioners reply, and are impriſon'd, but afterwards freed.

priſon'd by the Parliament; and, upon new Inſtance from *Scotland*, ſet at liberty afterwards.

The Marquis of Argyle *clogs the Act for Proclaiming of the King with a Clauſe for the Covenant.*

MATTERS being reduced to this State, the Marquis of *Argyle* could not hinder the new King's being acknowledged, and proclaimed King, nor from being invited home; which ſince he could not obſtruct, it would be his Maſter-piece to clog the Proclamation it ſelf with ſuch conditions as might terrify the new King from accepting the invitation; and therefore he cauſed this Clauſe to be inſerted in the Body of the Proclamation it ſelf, "becauſe his Majeſty is bound, by the "Law of God and the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, "to rule in Righteouſneſs and Equity to the Honour of God, "and the good of Religion, and the Wealth of the People; "it is hereby declared, that before he be admitted to the Exerciſe of his Royal Power, he ſhall give ſatisfaction to this "Kingdom in thoſe things which concern the ſecurity of Religion, the Unity betwixt the Kingdoms, and the good and "Peace of this Kingdom, according to the National Covenant "and Solemn League and Covenant; for which end, they were "reſolv'd, with all poſſible Expedition, to make their humble "and earneſt Addreſs to his Majeſty.

Middleton *aſſembles ſome Troops in* Scotland.

THIS was the Proclamation that Sr *Joſeph Douglaſs* brough to the *Hague*, and the Subject upon which the Commiſſioner were to invite his Majeſty to go for *Scotland*, whoſe Inſtructions were very ſuitable to the Proclamation: and at the ſame time when the Commiſſioners came from thence, *Middleton*, and ſome other Officers, who had been in their laſ Army, hearing that the Prince was proclaim'd King, though it was ſeaſonable to put themſelves into a poſture to ſerve hin upon his arrival; and ſo aſſembled ſome of thoſe Troop which had formerly ſerv'd under them in the North of *Scot land*; whereupon *David Leſley* was appointed forthwith, wit a Party of Horſe and Foot, againſt thoſe Royaliſts, whon they knew to be real Aſſertors of his Cauſe, without any othe intereſt or deſign than of their performing their Duties, a Loyal Subjects ought to do: and the Kirk at the ſame tim declared, "that, before the King ſhould be receiv'd, albe "they had declared his Right by Succeſſion, he ſhould fir "ſign the Covenant, ſubmit to the Kirk's Cenſure, renounc "the Sins of his Father's Houſe, and the iniquity of his Mo "ther, with other things of the like Nature. All which In formation arriv'd at the ſame time with the Commiſſioner that they who were about the King, might not be too muc Exalted with their Maſter's being declared King of one of h three Kingdoms. And it was very manifeſt, by all that paſſe then and afterwards, that the Marquis of *Argyle* meant onl to ſatisfy the People, in declaring that they had a King, with

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out which they could not be ſatisfied, but that ſuch conditions ſhould be put upon him, as he knew, he would not ſubmit to; and ſo he ſhould be able, with the concurrence of the *Kirk*, to Govern the Kingdom, till, by *Cromwell*'s aſſiſtance and advice, he might reverſe that little approach he had made towards Monarchy by Proclaiming a King.

Factions in the King's Court with reference to Scotland.

IT was a great Misfortune to the King, and which always attends Courts which labour under great wants and neceſſities, that, whilſt the greateſt Union imaginable amongſt the few Friends he had was neceſſary, and of too little Power to buoy him up from the diſtreſſes which overwhelm'd him, there was yet ſo great a Faction, and Animoſity amongſt them, that deſtroy'd any the moſt probable deſign that could offer it ſelf; as it now fell out with reference to *Scotland*, which, if united, might yet be able to give Reputation at leaſt, if not a vigorous Aſſiſtance to the King's Intereſt.

The Marquis of Mountroſe *arrives in* France;

THE Marquis of *Mountroſe*, who hath been mention'd before, had been oblig'd by the late King to lay down his Armes; and after he had perform'd ſuch wonderful Actions in *Scotland*, and left that Kingdom upon his Majeſty's firſt coming into the *Scotiſh* Army to *New-Caſtle*, had firſt arriv'd in *France*, and had not ſuch a Reception from the Queen of *England*, and thoſe who were in credit with her, as he thought the notable Services he had perform'd for the King had merited. The truth is, he was ſomewhat elated with the great Actions he had done; which, upon his firſt coming to *Paris*, he cauſed to be publiſhed in a full Relation in Latin, dedicated to the Prince of *Wales*; in which, as his own Perſon, Courage, and Conduct, was well extolled, ſo the Reputation of all the reſt of that Nation (upon whoſe Affections the Queen at that time depended) was exceedingly undervalued and depreſſed; which obliged the Queen, and the Prince, to look leſs graciouſly upon him; which he could not bear without expreſſing much diſturbance at it. He was then a Man of *eclat*, had many Servants, and more Officers, who had ſerv'd under him, and came away with him, all whom he expected the Queen ſhould enable him to maintain with ſome Luſtre, by a liberal aſſignation of Monies. On the other hand, the Queen was in ſtreights enough, and never open-handed, and uſed to pay the beſt Services with receiving them graciouſly, and looking kindly upon thoſe who did them. And her Graces were ſtill more towards thoſe who were like to do Services, than to thoſe who Had done them. So that after a long attendance, and ſome overtures made by him to Cardinal *Mazarin*, to raiſe an Army for the Service of that King, which he did not think were receiv'd with that regard his great name deſerv'd, the Marquis left *France*, and made a Journey into *Germany* to the

Thence goes into Germany.

Emperor's Court, deſiring to ſee Armies, till he could com to command them; and was return'd to *Bruſſels*, abut th time that the Prince came back into *Holland* with the Fleet and lay there very privately, and as *incognito*, for ſome time till he heard of the Murther of the late King. Then he ſen to the King with the tender of his Service, and to know, “i “his Majeſty thought his attendance upon him might brin “any prejudice to his Majeſty; and if ſo, that he would ſen “over the Chancellor of the Exchequer to *Sevenberg*, a Tow “in *Flanders*, where he was at preſent to expect him, an “had matters to communicate to him of much importance t “his Majeſty's Service. Whether he did this out of modeſty, and that he might firſt know his Majeſty's pleaſure, o out of ſome vanity, that he might ſeem to come to the King after the coldneſs he had met at *Paris*, by a kind of Treaty the King commanded the Chancellor preſently to go to him and “if he could, without exaſperating him (which he ha no mind to do) wiſhed, “he might be perſwaded rather fo “ſome time to ſuſpend his coming to the *Hague*, than pre“ſently to appear there; which was an injunction very diſagreeable to the Chancellor; who in his judgement believ' his Majeſty ſhould bid him very welcome, and prefer him before any other of that Nation in his eſteem.

THE ſuddain violent froſt, which ſhut up all the Rivers i leſs than four and twenty hours, kept them at that time from meeting; but, within a ſhort time after, and upon another Meſſage from him, they met at a Village three or four mile off the *Hague*; whither the Marquis was come. The Chancellor had never ſeen him from the time he had left *Oxford* when he ſeem'd to have very much modeſty, and deference to the opinion and judgement of other Men. But he had ſince that time, done ſo many ſignal Actions, won ſo many Battles, and in truth made ſo great a noiſe in the world, that there appear'd no leſs alteration to be in his humour, and diſcourſe, than there had been in his Fortune. He ſeem'd rather to have deſired that interview, that he might the better know what advice to give the King, and how to make a Party that would be faſt to him, than out of any doubt that his preſence would not be acceptable to his Majeſty. There was yet no news from *Scotland* ſince the Murther of the King, and he ſeem'd to think of nothing but that the King would preſently ſend him thither with ſome Forces, to prepare the way for himſelf to follow after. They ſpent that Night together in Conference, and the next Morning the Chancellor prevailed with him, with great difficulty, that he would ſtay in that place, which did not abound with all things deſirable, or ſome where elſe, until he might give him Notice, what

The Chancellor of the Exchequer ſent to confer with him in a Village near the Hague.

he King's ſenſe ſhould be of the matters diſcourſed between hem; inſiſting principally, "that, if his going into *Scotland* "ſhould be thought preſently to be neceſſary, it would then "be as neceſſary, that he ſhould not be taken notice of publickly to have been with the King: with which reaſon he ſeem'd ſatisfied; and promiſed "not to come to the *Hague*, "till he ſhould firſt receive advice from the Chancellor. But when he heard of the Commiſſioners being come from *Scotland*, and of the other Lords arrival there, he would no longer defer his Journey thither, but came to the *Hague* well attended by Servants and Officers, and preſented himſelf to the King; who receiv'd him with a very good countenance.

The Marquis comes to the Hague.

THERE were at this time in the *Hague*, the Commiſſioners who came from the Council and the Kirk to invite the King into *Scotland*, or rather to let him know upon what terms he might come thither, Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Lautherdale*, and others of the Nobility of that Faction, who were now as odious, and as much perſecuted by that Party, which then govern'd *Scotland*, and which in that manner invited the King, as any Men were who had ſerv'd the King from the beginning. There was alſo the Marquis of *Mountroſe*, with more of the Nobility, as the Earls of *Seaford*, and *Kinoul*, and others, who adher'd to *Mountroſe*, and believ'd his clear Spirit to be moſt like to advance the King's Service. Of theſe three Parties, it might reaſonably have been hoped that the two laſt, being equally proſecuted by the Power that govern'd, ſhould have been eaſily United to have Suppreſſed the other. But it was a buſineſs too hard for the King to bring it to paſs; and he could as eaſily have perſwaded the Parliament to reject *Cromwell*, as the Lords of the *Engagement*, and thoſe who had joyn'd with Duke *Hamilton*, to be reconciled to *Mountroſe*: So that when the King hoped to have drawn all the *Scotiſh* Nobility together, to have conſulted what Anſwer he ſhould give to the Meſſages he had receiv'd from the Council and the Kirk, with which they themſelves were enough offended, thoſe Lords of the *Engagement* did not only refuſe to meet with the Lord *Mountroſe*, but, aſſoon as he came into the Room where they were, though his Majeſty himſelf was preſent, they immediately withdrew, and left the Room; and had the confidence to deſire the King, "that the Marquis of *Mountroſe* (whom they "call'd *James Graham*) might be forbidden to come into his "Majeſty's Preſence, or Court, becauſe he ſtood Excommu-"nicated by the Kirk of *Scotland*, and degraded and for-"feited by the Judicatory of that Kingdom. This Propoſition and Demand they made confidently in writing under their Hands, and abounded ſo much in this ſenſe, that a

The Parties of the Scots now at the Hague.

Learned and Worthy *Scotiſh* Divine, Dr *Wiſhart*, who wa then Chaplain to a *Scotiſh* Regiment in the Service of th States, being appointed to Preach before the King on th *Sunday* following, they formally beſought the King, "that h "would not ſuffer him to Preach before him, nor to come into his Preſence, becauſe he ſtood Excommunicated by th "Kirk of *Scotland*, for having refuſed to take the Covenant though it was known, that the true cauſe of the diſpleaſur they had againſt that Divine was, that they knew he was th Author of the excellent Relation of the Lord *Mountroſe*' Actions in *Scotland*. This carriage and behaviour of thoſ Lords appear'd ridiculous to all ſober Men, that any Men ſhoul have the preſumption to accuſe thoſe who had ſerv'd th King with that Fidelity, and were only branded by thoſe Rebellious Judicatories for having perform'd their duties of Allegiance, and to demand that the King himſelf ſhould condemn them for having ſerv'd his Father: which made thoſ of his Majeſty's Council full of Indignation at their Inſolence and his Majeſty himſelf declar'd his being offended, by uſin the Marquis of *Mountroſe* with the more countenance, an hearing the Doctor Preach with the more attention. Bu from this very abſurd behaviour, beſides his Majeſty's deſir being fruſtrated, of receiving the joynt advice of the Nobilit of that Kingdom in an affair that ſo much concern'd himſel and them; and beſides the diſpleaſure, and diſtance, that i cauſed between them and the King's Council (who though the *Scotiſh* Lords might as reaſonably move the King, tha they might be remov'd, who lay under the ſame brand, an reproaches in *England* for adhering to the Crown, as the othe did in *Scotland*) the King had reaſon to be troubled wit another apprehenſion, which was, that the Marquis of *Mountroſe* (who could not be ignorant of any thing which th other Perſons ſaid or did) would, out of juſt indignation, tak revenge upon thoſe Perſons whom he contemn'd too much and ſo that the Peace of the Country, where his Majeſty wa but a Gueſt, would be violated by his Subjects, as it were i his own ſight; which would make his abſence from thence th more deſireable.

HE, to whom this unreaſonable Animoſity was moſt imputed, and who indeed was the great Fomenter, and Proſecutor of it, was the Earl of *Lautherdale*; whoſe fiery Spiri was not capable of any moderation. One of the Council conferring one day with him upon a ſubject that could not pu him into paſſion, and ſo being in a very fair converſation, deſir'd him "to inform him, what foul Offence the Marquis o "*Mountroſe* had ever committed, that ſhould hinder thoſe t "make a conjunction with him, who, in reſpect of the Re "bels, were in as deſperate a condition as himſelf, and who "could not more deſire the King's Reſtitution than he did. The Earl told him calmly enough, "that he could not imagine, or conceive the Barbarities and Inhumanities *Mountroſe* was guilty of, in the time he made a War in *Scotland*; "that he never gave Quarter to any Man, but purſued all the "Advantages he ever got, with the utmoſt outrage and Cruelty: that he had in one Battle kill'd fifteen hundred of one "Family, of the *Campbels*, of the blood and name of *Argyle*, "and that he had utterly rooted out ſeveral Names, and entire noble Families. The other told him, "that it was the "Nature and Condition of that War, that Quarter was given "on neither ſide; that thoſe Priſoners which were taken "by the *Scots*, as once they did take ſome Perſons of Honour of his Party, were afterwards in cold blood hang'd reproachfully, which was much worſe than if they had been "kill'd in the Field; and asked him, "if *Mountroſe* had ever "cauſed any Man to dye in cold Blood, or after the Battle "was ended; ſince what was done in it *flagrante*, was more "to be imputed to the fierceneſs of his Soldiers, than to his "want of humanity. The Earl confeſſed, "that he did not "know he was guilty of any thing but what was done in "the Field; but concluded with more paſſion, "that his behaviour there was ſo Savage, that *Scotland* would never forgive him. And in other Company, where the ſame Subject was debated, he ſwore with great paſſion, "that though "he wiſh'd nothing more in this World than to ſee the King "Reſtor'd, he had much rather that he ſhould never be Reſtor'd, than that *James Graham* ſhould be permitted to "come into the Court: of which Declaration of his the King was inform'd by *William Legg* and S^r *William Armorer*, who were both preſent at the *Hague*, and in the Company, when he ſaid it.

Earl of Lautherdale's diſcourſe againſt Mountroſe

THERE was at that time in the *Hague* the Lord *Newburgh*, who, after the Murther of the late King, was compell'd together with his Wife, the Lady *Aubigney*, to fly out of *England*, *Cromwell* every day making diſcoveries of correſpondencies which had been between the King and them. And thereupon they made an eſcape from thence, and came to the *Hague*. That Lord having been too young to have had a part in the former War, had been then ſent by his Majeſty's direction, to be bred in *France*; from whence he return'd not till his Majeſty was in the hands of the *Scotiſh* Army; and from that time he perform'd all the Offices of Fidelity, and Duty to the King, that a generous and worthy Perſon could find any opportunity for: with which his Majeſty was abundantly ſatisfied and pleaſed: and he now Tranſported himſelf and his Wife into *Holland*, that he might leave her there, and himſelf attend the King in any Expedition.

THIS Lady was a Woman of a very great Wit, and moſt truſted and converſant in thoſe Intrigues, which at that time could be beſt manag'd and carried on by Ladies, who with leſs jealouſy could be ſeen in all Companies: and ſo ſhe had not been a ſtranger to the moſt ſecret Tranſactions with the *Scots*, and had much Converſation with the Lord *Lanrick*, during the time the King was at *Hampton* Court, and whilſt he ſtay'd afterwards in *London*, when the King was Impriſon'd in the Iſle of *Wight*; and being now both in the *Hague*, they had much Converſation together. She had likewiſe had long Acquaintance, and Friendſhip with one of the Council, who, ſhe knew, had been as much truſted as any by the Father, and was believ'd to have Credit with the preſent King. She lamented thoſe Diviſions amongſt the *Scots*, which every Body ſpoke of, and every Body knew the diſorder they produced in the King's Councils; and ſaid, "ſhe deſir'd nothing "more, than that there were a good underſtanding between "Duke *Hamilton* and Him; which, ſhe ſaid, "ſhe was ſure "would eaſily be, if they two had but once a frank Conference together. The other, who indeed had an eſteem for the Duke, ſeem'd very deſirous of it: and ſhe thereupon told him, that "the Duke had expreſs'd to her, that he "would be willing to embrace the occaſion: and it was ſo concerted, that within a day or two, they met as by chance at her Lodgings. And ſhe ſo dextrouſly introduc'd them to a Civility towards each other, and to expreſs their Inclinations to a mutual freedom, that after an hour's general Converſation there, to which ſhe left them, and went her ſelf abroad, they parted with fair profeſſions of future good Will; and the other promiſed to viſit the Duke the next morning early, that they might have the more time without being interrupted, and he was with him accordingly, and found him in his bed. They continued together near two hours, the Duke having commanded his Servant to tell any who came to viſit him, that he was aſleep. The other, ſpoke of "the Proclamation, and the manner of inviting the King into *Scotland*, "and of the ſtrange Spirit that poſſeſſed thoſe who govern'd "there, and perſwaded them to imagine it poſſible, that the "King could ever be prevail'd with to take the Covenant, "or that it could be of Advantage to him to do ſo; ſince it "could not but much alienate the Affections of all that Party "in *England* that had ſerv'd his Father, upon whom he ought "chiefly to depend for his Reſtoration to the Government of

nference tween uke Hamilton and e English ivy Counllor conrning the ffairs of cotland.

"that Kingdom. Then he ſpoke of "the differences and "jealouſies which were between thoſe of that Nation who "had an equal deſire to ſerve the King, and ſeem'd to be "equally proſecuted by the Party that now prevail'd, which "had excluded both; and wiſh'd "that ſome Expedient "might be found out to Unite all thoſe; and particularly that "his Grace and the Marquis of *Mountroſe* might be reconcil'd; "towards which, he ſaid, he was ſure that the Marquis had "great Inclination, and had always eſteem'd him a Man of "Honour; which appear'd by the Book which was publiſh'd, "where he was always worthily mention'd, though he had "not dealt ſo well with many others.

WHEN the Duke had heard him with very civil attention, he told him as to the firſt part, "concerning the Proclama-"tion, and the manner of inviting the King to come to them, "he was not to make any other judgement by it, than only "of the Perſon of the Marquis of *Argyle*; who, with the "Aſſiſtance of ſome few Miniſters, and others his Creatures, "did at preſent Govern: that *Argyle* well knew there was "an abſolute neceſſity, in reſpect of the whole People, to "Proclaim the King after the Murther of his Father; and "therefore he could find no other way to keep him from "coming thither, but by clogging the Proclamation and Meſ-"ſage with thoſe unworthy Expreſſions, which might deter "him from putting himſelf into their hands; which *Argyle* "did not wiſh he ſhould do, becauſe in his abſence he was "ſure he ſhould Govern all, being well agreed with *Cromwell* "how the Government ſhould be carried; and ſo the King "might be kept out, *Cromwell* would ſupport him againſt all "other Parties; but that they both knew well enough, that "if his Majeſty were once there, the whole Nation would "ſtick to him and obey him. He confeſs'd, "that there was "generally ſo great a Superſtition for the Covenant, that who-"ſoever ſhould ſpeak againſt it for the preſent, would loſe "all credit, though he did acknowledge it had done much "Miſchief, and would do more whilſt it ſhould be inſiſted "upon; but, he ſaid, "that muſt be a work of time, and an "effect of the King's Government: which would find it ne-"ceſſary, in many other reſpects, to leſſen the power of the "Miniſters; which being leſſen'd, the Reverence of the Co-"venant would quickly fall too; and till then He, and all "Men, muſt have patience. For the ſecond, he ſaid, "he "wiſhed heartily that there could be a Union of all Parties "which deſired the King's Reſtoration, and that the Animo-"ſity againſt the Marquis of *Mountroſe* might be extinguiſhed. "For his own part, that he had only one Quarrel againſt "him, which was that, by his unjuſt Calumnies and Proſe-"cution, he had driven him into Rebellion; which nothing "elſe could have done. And for that he always asked God "forgiveneſs from his Heart, and deſired nothing more than "to repair his fault by loſing his life for the King; and would, "with all his Heart, joyn to morrow with the Marquis of "*Mountroſe*, in carrying on the King's Service, though he "did believe, in that conjuncture, the Animoſity againſt the "Marquis was ſo great, that if he ſhould declare ſuch an In-"clination, all his own Friends would fall from him, and "abhor him. He ſaid, "his own Condition was very hard; "for that having been always bred up in the Church of *Eng-"land*, for which he had a great Reverence, he was forced "to comply with the Covenant; which he perfectly deteſted, "and looked upon it as the ruin of his Nation; and would "be as glad as any Man of a good opportunity to declare a-"gainſt it. But, ſaid he, "I dare not ſay this; and if I did, "I ſhould have no power or credit to ſerve the King. There "is, ſaid he, "a very worthy Gentleman, who Lodges in this "Houſe, the Earl of *Lautherdale*, my Friend and my Kinſ-"man; who, upon my Conſcience, loves me heartily; and "yet I dare ſay nothing of this to him, either againſt the "Covenant, or for the Marquis of *Mountroſe*: and, if I "ſhould, I believe he would rather chooſe to kill me, than "to joyn with me: ſo much he is tranſported with prejudice "in both theſe particulars, and ſo incapable to hear reaſon "upon either of thoſe Arguments, though, in all other things, "few Men have a better Underſtanding, or can diſcourſe "more reaſonably.

WHILST they continued in all poſſible freedom in this conference, the Earl of *Lautherdale*, who it ſeems was inform'd of the others being there, came in his Night-Gown into the Chamber, and ſo broke off the diſcourſe. The other, after ſitting ſome time in general Converſation, departed. And there continued afterwards all civility between the Duke and him. But as himſelf told the Lady *Aubigney*, who ſhortly after died there, "he could not, without giving jealouſy to his "Friend *Lautherdale*, which he had no mind to do, ſpend ſo "much time with the other in private as he could have been "willing to have done: and the death of that Lady leſſen'd the opportunities.

IN this unſteady and irreſolute condition of the King's Council, it was very manifeſt, that, how long ſoever his Majeſty ſhould defer the reſolution, to what place he would remove, he ſhould not be able to ſtay long in the place where he was. The States, eſpecially thoſe of *Holland*, let fall ſomewhat every day in their Councils, and Conſultations, “that the King's reſiding in the *Hague* would be very inconvenient to them; and it was the great Intereſt of the Prince of *Orange*, not without much dexterity, that kept the States from ſending a Meſſage directly to his Majeſty, to deſire him, “that he would depart from that Country, aſſoon as he could. And there happen'd an Accident at this time, which made the reſolution neceſſary, and would inevitably have drawn on that Meſſage, which had yet been kept back.

IT was touched before, that there was a purpoſe at *London*, to ſend over an Envoy from thence into *Holland*, to prepare the way for a farther good Intelligence, and Negotiation, which might end in a firm Peace, and a reciprocal Alliance between the two Republicks. To that purpoſe one *Doriſlaus*, a Dr in the Civil Law, was named; who, being born in *Delpht* in *Holland*, had been bred at *Leyden*, and afterwards liv'd long in *London*, having been receiv'd into *Greſham* College as a Profeſſor in one of thoſe Chairs which are endow'd for publick Lectures in that Society, and had been, from the beginning of the Troubles, in the Exerciſe of the Judge Advocate's Office in the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army. In this conjuncture this Man arriv'd at the *Hague*, and took his Lodging in a Houſe where Strangers uſed to repair, and were accommodated till they provided otherwiſe for their better accommodation. Whilſt he was at Supper, the ſame Evening that he came to the Town, in Company of many others who uſed to Eat there, half a dozen Gentlemen enter'd the Room with their Swords drawn, and required thoſe who were at the Table “not to ſtir; for “that there was no harm intended to any but the Agent who “came from the Rebels in *England*, who had newly Murther'd their King. And one of them, who knew *Doriſlaus*, pulled him from the Table, and killed him at his Feet: and thereupon they all put up their Swords, and walked leiſurely out of the Houſe, leaving thoſe who were in the Room, in much Amazement and Conſternation. Though all who were engaged in that Enterpriſe, went quietly away, and ſo out of the Town, inſomuch as no one of them was ever apprehended, or called in queſtion, yet they kept not their own Counſel ſo well (believing they had done a very Heroick Act) but that it was generally known they were all *Scotiſh* Men, and moſt of them Servants, or Dependents upon the Marquis of *Mountroſe*.

Doriſlaus, *an Agent o the Parliament, killed at the* Hagu *by ſome* Sco *tiſh Men.*

THE King was exceedingly troubled and perplexed with this Accident, which he could not foreſee, and eaſily diſcern'd that it would be applied to his prejudice; and that the States could not but highly reſent it, in many reſpects; that the

Man

Man who was killed, was in truth their own Subject, and imployed to them, as a publick Miniſter, by thoſe with whom they had no mind to have any Quarrel. Upon all which his Majeſty concluded, that his preſence there would quickly appear more unacceptable than ever: beſides, that there had been the ſame night ſome Quarrels, and Fighting in the Streets between ſome Servants of the King and ſome Gentlemen of the Town; in which a Son of one of the States was dangerouſly hurt, though he recover'd afterwards.

It cannot be denied but that the States proceeded upon theſe diſorders, to which they had not been accuſtom'd, with great gravity, and more than ordinary reſpect to the King. They were highly offended with what was paſt, and ſenſible what expoſtulations, and clamour for Juſtice they muſt expect, and ſuſtain from *England*, and what reproaches they muſt undergo for ſuffering all thoſe who had been guilty of ſuch a Crime, to eſcape the Miniſters of Juſtice; which could not but be imputed to them, as a great ſcandal to their Government: Yet they proceeded very ſlowly in their Inquiſition, and with ſuch formalities as were uſual (and which could bring no prejudice to the Offenders; who were either gone out of their Dominions, or concealed themſelves in other Towns, where the ſame formalities were to be uſed, if they were diſcover'd) and without ſo much reflection upon the King, as if they believ'd that the guilty Perſons had any relation to his Service: Yet they took notice of "the multitude "of Strangers which were in the Town, and how impoſſible "it would be for them to preſerve the Peace, and good Go- "vernment thereof, if ſuch reſort were not reſtrain'd. They aggravated exceedingly "the indignity that had been offer'd "to the State it ſelf, in the attempt that had been made upon "a Perſon under Their Protection, and for whoſe ſafety the "Publick Faith was, upon the matter, engag'd; with inſinuation enough, "that it would be fit for the King to remove "from thence. Of all which his Majeſty receiving advertiſement, he thought it better himſelf to give them notice of his purpoſe to leave them, than to expect a plain Injunction from them to do ſo. He found this the more neceſſary to be done, ſince from the time that the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners were come thither, they had taken great pains to infuſe into the opinions of that People, "that they were ſent from the Kingdom of "*Scotland*, that was entirely and unanimouſly at his Maje- "ſty's diſpoſal, to invite him to repair thither, and to take "poſſeſſion of his Government there, where there was al- "ready an Army preparing to aſſiſt him towards the recovery "of his other Dominions; but that there was a Party of evil

“Counſellors about his Majeſty, who diſſwaded him from ac“cepting that their Invitation, except they would be content “to change the Government of their Church, and to eſta“bliſh Epiſcopacy there again. And by theſe inſinuations they perſwaded many of the States to believe, that the defence of Biſhops, for whom they had no regard, was the ſole difference between the King and Them, which kept the King from going into *Scotland*: So that the King was not without ſome apprehenſion, that by that miſtake and falſe Information, the States might give him advice to accept the *Scots* Invitation. And therefore he ſent to the States of *Holland*, “that he had “a deſire to ſay ſomewhat to them, if they would aſſign him “an Audience the next day; which they readily did.

The King gives a viſi to the State of Holland *and delive them a Memorial.*

THE King was receiv'd in the ſame manner he had been formerly, and being conducted into the Room of Council, after a ſhort Compliment, he deliver'd a Paper to them, which he deſired might be read, and that he might receive their advice thereupon aſſoon as they pleas'd. The Memorial contain'd, in the firſt place, his Majeſty's acknowledgement of the Civilities he had receiv'd there, and his deſire “that by “them the States General (who were not at that time aſſembled) “might be inform'd of ſuch his Majeſty's ſenſe of their “kindneſs; eſpecially in the full and high deteſtation they “had expreſs'd of the impious, and unparallel'd Murther of “his Royal Father of Bleſſed Memory, their faſt and un“ſhaken Ally, by which the Forms and Rules of all kind of “Government were no leſs violated and diſſolv'd, than that of “Monarchy: That he came to inform them that he did intend, “in a ſhort time, ſo to diſpoſe of his Perſon, as might with “God's Bleſſing moſt probably advance his Affairs; and that “for the better doing thereof, and that he might in ſo impor“tant an Affair receive their particular advice, he ſhould im“part to them the true ſtate and condition of his ſeveral Do“minions. That he needed not inform them of the deplor“able condition of his Kingdom of *England*, where the Hearts “and Affections of his Loyal Subjects were ſo depreſſed, and “kept under by the Power and Cruelty of thoſe who had Mur“ther'd their late Soveraign, and who every day gave freſh “and bloody inſtances of their Tyranny, to fright Men from “their Allegiance, that for the preſent no Man could believe “that miſerable Kingdom could be fit for his Majeſty to truſt “his Perſon in: That in *Scotland*, it is very true, that his Ma“jeſty is proclaim'd King, but with ſuch limitations, and re“ſtrictions againſt his exerciſe of his Royal Power, that in “truth they had only given him the Name, and denied him “the Authority: That above five parts of ſix of the Nobility “and chief Gentry of that Kingdom, were likewiſe excluded from their juſt Right, and from any part in the Adminiſtration of the Publick Affairs; ſo that That Kingdom ſeem'd not ſufficiently prepar'd for his Majeſty's reception; but that he hoped, and doubted not, that there would be in a ſhort time a perfect Union, and right underſtanding between all his Subjects of that his Kingdom, and a due ſubmiſſion and obedience from them all to his Majeſty, for that he was reſolv'd (and had never had the leaſt purpoſe to the contrary) to preſerve and maintain the Government of Church and State in that Kingdom as it is eſtabliſh'd by the Laws thereof, without any violation or alteration on his part: So that there could be no difference between him and his Subjects of that Kingdom, except they ſhould endeavour, and preſs his Majeſty to alter the Laws and Government of his other Kingdoms; which as it would be very unreaſonable to deſire, ſo it is not in his power to do if he ſhould conſent, and joyn with his Subjects of *Scotland* to that purpoſe: which made him confident, that, when they had throughly weigh'd and conſider'd what was good for themſelves, as well as for Him, they would acquieſce with enjoying the Laws and Privileges of that Kingdom, without deſiring to infringe or impoſe upon thoſe of their Brethren and Neighbours. And his Majeſty deſir'd the States, “that if any Perſons had endeavour'd to make any impreſſions upon them, that he hath, or ever had other intentions or deſires, with reference to his Subjects of *Scotland*, than what himſelf now expreſs'd to them to have, that they would give no Credit to them: And aſſured them, that they ſhould always find him conſtant to thoſe reſolutions, and eſpecially, that all ways and means which might lead to the advancement and propagation of the Proteſtant Religion, ſhould be ſo heartily embraced by him, that the World ſhould have cauſe to believe him to be worthy of his Title of *Defender of the Faith*, which he valued as his greateſt Attribute.

THIS being the true preſent condition of his two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, and it being neceſſary for his Majeſty, to give life to the afflicted ſtate of his Affairs by his own Perſonal Activity and Vigour, he told them, “there remain'd only, that he ſhould impart to them the like State of his other Kingdom of *Ireland*; which had likewiſe ſent to him, and deſired him to repair thither with great importunity: That the Marquis of *Ormond*, his Lieutenant there, had concluded a Peace with the Roman Catholicks; and that thereby his Majeſty was entirely poſſeſs'd of three parts of four of that his large and fruitful Kingdom, and of the

"Command of good Armies, and of many good Ships to be "joyn'd to his own Fleet; and that he had reaſon to hope "and to believe that *Dublin* it ſelf, and the few other places, "which had ſubmitted to the Rebellious power in *England*, "either already were, upon the knowledge of that odious "Parricide, return'd to their Allegiance, or would ſpeedily be "reduced; of which he expected every day to receive Ad-"vertiſement; which if it ſhould fall out, yet he foreſaw "many objections might be made againſt his going thither, "not only in regard of the difficulty and danger of his paſ-"ſage, but of the jealouſies which would ariſe upon the large "Conceſſions which were made unto the Roman Catholicks "of that Kingdom; which could not be avoided. And having thus given them a clear Information of the State of his three Kingdoms, his Majeſty concluded with his deſire, "that the States would give him their advice as freely, to "which of them he ſhould repair; and that they would "give him all neceſſary aſſiſtance that he might proſecute "their Counſel.

MANY Men fear'd, that the King would have brought great prejudice to himſelf by this Communication, and, upon the matter, obliged himſelf to follow their Advice; which they apprehended would be contrary to his own Judgement. For nothing was more commonly diſcourſed among the *Dutch*, and by many of the States themſelves, than "that the King "ought, without delay, to throw himſelf into the Armes of "*Scotland*, and to gratify them in all they deſir'd: That "Biſhops were not worth the contending for; and that the "ſupporting Them, had been the ruin of his Father, and "would be His, if he continued in the ſame obſtinacy. But the King had reaſon to believe that they would not ſo much concern themſelves in his broken Affairs, as to give him Ad-vice what to do: And it was neceſſary for him to get a little more time, upon ſome occurrences which would every day happen, before he took a poſitive reſolution which way to teer: For though, in his own opinion, *Ireland* was the place o which he was to repair, yet he knew that notwithſtanding the Peace that was made, there were ſeveral Parties ſtill in Armes there, beſides thoſe who adher'd to the Parliament, who refuſed to ſubmit to that Peace. Though the General Council at *Kilkenny* (which had been always look'd upon as the Repreſentative of the Confederate Catholicks of that King-om, and to which they had always ſubmitted) had fully con-ented to the Treaty of Peace with the Lord Lieutenant, er *Owen O Neile*, who had the Command of all the *Iriſh* in *Ulſter*, and who was looked upon as the beſt General they had, totally refuſed to ſubmit to it, and poſitively proteſted againſt it, as not having provided for their Intereſt; and that Council was not ſorry for his ſeparation, there being little leſs Animoſity between thoſe of *Ulſter* and the other *Iriſh*, than was between them both and the *Engliſh*: And they knew that O *Neile* more inſiſted upon recompence in Lands and Preferments, than upon any proviſion that concern'd Religion it ſelf. Then the *Scots* in *Ulſter*, who were very numerous, and under good diſcipline, and well provided with Armes and Ammunition, would not ſubmit to the Commands of the Lord Lieutenant; but were reſolv'd to follow the example of their Country-men, and to ſee the King admitted and receiv'd, as well as proclaim'd, before they would ſubmit to his Authority: which made the Marquis of *Ormond* the leſs troubled at the Obſtinacy of O *Neile* (though he had uſed all the means he had to draw him in) ſince he preſumed the *Scots* and He would mortify each other, during the time that he ſhould ſpend in making himſelf ſtrong enough to ſuppreſs them both: For the *Scots* who would not joyn with the Marquis, were very vigorous in proſecuting the War againſt O *Neile*, and the *Iriſh* of *Ulſter*. Theſe Diviſions, Factions, and Confuſions in *Ireland*, made the King the more ſollicitous that his Council ſhould be unanimous for his going thither, at leaſt that the *Scots*, how virulent ſoever againſt each other, ſhould all concur in their Advice, "that it was not yet ſeaſonable for him to go for *Scotland*; which made him labour ſo much to bring the *Hamiltonians*, and thoſe who follow'd *Mountroſe*, whom he believed both to be of that opinion, to meet together, and to own it joyntly to the King in Council: But it is ſaid before how impoſſible it was to obtain that Conjunction

WHEN the King found, that it was not poſſible to bring the Lords of the *Scotiſh* Nation together to confer upon the Affairs of that Kingdom, he thought to have drawn them ſeverally, that is, thoſe of the *Engagement* by themſelves, and the Marquis of *Mountroſe* with his Friends by themſelves, to have given him their Advice in the preſence of his Council, that ſo, upon Debate thereof between them, his Majeſty might the more maturely have determin'd what he was to do. The Marquis of *Mountroſe* expreſs'd a great willingneſs to give his Majeſty ſatisfaction this, or any other way, being willing to deliver his opinion concerning Things, or Perſons, before any Body, and in any place. But the Lords of the *Engagement* poſitively refuſed to deliver their opinion, but to the King himſelf, and not in the preſence of his Council; which, they ſaid, "would be to confeſs a kind of ſubordination of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, which was independent on the Council of *England*; and Duke *Hamilton* told the ounſellor, with whom he had before ſo freely converſed, nd who expoſtulated with him upon it, “that it was the only ground of the heavy judgement in Parliament againſt the Earl of *Traquair*, that, having been the King's Commiſſioner in *Scotland*, he gave account to the King of tranſactions, and of the affairs of that Kingdom, at the Council-Table in *England*; whereof he was likewiſe a Member; ſo jealous that Kingdom was, and ſtill is, of their Native Privileges; and therefore deſired, “that he might not be preſſed to do what had been ſo penal to another in his own ſight.

THE King ſatisfied himſelf with having all their opinions eliver'd to himſelf, ſubſcribed under all their hands, which very one conſented to: though moſt of them would have een glad that the King would have gone into *Scotland*, upon hat condeſcenſions ſoever; becauſe they all believ'd His reſence would eaſily turn all, and that they ſhould be quick- reſtored to their Eſtates, which they cared moſt for; yet o body preſumed to give that advice, or ſeem'd to think it aſonable. So that the King reſumed the former Debate of oing directly for *Ireland*, and direction was given for proiding Ships, and all other things neceſſary for that Voyage. here remain'd only one doubt, whether his Majeſty ſhould ke *France* in his way, that he might ſee his Mother, who y Letters and Meſſages preſſed him very earneſtly ſo to do; r whether he ſhould embark in *Holland* directly for *Ireland*; hich would be leſs loſs of time, and might be done early in e Spring, before the Parliament's Fleet ſhould put out to ea.

THEY who did not wiſh that the Queen ſhould exerciſe ny power over the King, or have too much credit with im, were againſt his going into *France*, as “an occaſion of ſpending more time than his Affairs would permit, and an obligation to make a greater Expence than he had, or knew where to have, means to defray: and they thought it an rgument of moment, “that from the time of the Murther of his Father, the King had never receiv'd Letter of condolement from *France*, nor the leaſt invitation to go thither. On the other ſide, they who wiſh'd, and hop'd that e Queen would have ſuch an influence upon the King that is Council ſhould have leſs credit with him, deſired very uch that his Majeſty would make *France* his way. The *cots* deſired it very much, believing they ſhould find her Maeſty very propitious to their Counſels, and inclined to truſt their undertakings; and they were very ſure that *Mountroſe* would never go to *Paris*, or have credit with the Queen.

THE Prince of *Orange*, and the Princeſs Royal his Wife, had a great deſire to gratify the Queen, and that the King ſhould ſee her in the way; and propoſed "that his Majeſty "might appoint a place, where the Queen and He might "meet, without going to *Paris*; and, after three or four "days ſtay together, his Majeſty might haſten his Journey to "ſome convenient Port, from whence he might embark for "*Ireland* by a ſhorter paſſage than from *Holland*; and the "Prince of *Orange* would appoint two Ships of War, to at"tend his Majeſty in that *French* Port, before he ſhould get "thither. His Majeſty inclined this way, without poſitively reſolving upon it; yet directed "that his own Goods of bulk, "and his inferior Servants, ſhould be preſently embarked to "take the directeſt paſſage to *Ireland*; and order'd "that the "reſt, who were to wait upon his Perſon, ſhould likewiſe "ſend their Goods and Baggage, and ſuch Servants who were "not abſolutely neceſſary for their preſent Service, upon the "ſame Ships for *Ireland*; declaring, "that, if he made *France* "his way, he would make all poſſible haſt, and go with as "light a train as he could. Hereupon two Ships were ſhortly after provided, and many Perſons (and great ſtore of Baggage) embark'd for *Ireland*, and arriv'd there in ſafety; but moſt of the Perſons, and all the Goods, miſcarried in their return, when they knew that the King was not to come thither, upon the accidents that afterwards fell out there.

THIS Reſolution being taken, the Lord *Cottington*, who had a juſt excuſe from his Age, being then ſeventy five years old, to wiſh to be in ſome repoſe, conſider'd with himſelf how to become diſintangled from the fatigue of thoſe Voyages and Journies, which he ſaw the King would be obliged to make. In *Holland* he had no mind to ſtay, having never lov'd that People, nor been lov'd by them; and he thought the Climate it ſelf was very pernicious to his health, by reaſon of the Gout, which frequently viſited him. *France* was as ungrateful to him, where he had not been kindly treated, and was look'd upon as one who had been always addicted to *Spain*, and no friend to the Crown of *France*; ſo that he was willing to find a good occaſion to ſpend the remainder of his age where he had ſpent ſo much of his youth, in *Spain*, and where he believ'd that he might be able to do the King more Service than any other way. And there was newly come to the *Hague* an *Engliſh* Gentleman, who had been an Officer in the King's Army, and was in *Madrid* when the News came thither of the Murther of the King: and he reved many particulars of the paſſion and indignation of that ourt, upon that occaſion, againſt the Rebels; that “the ‘King, and all the Court, put themſelves into ſolemn Mourning: (and he repeated ſome Expreſſions which the King nd *Don Lewis de Haro* had made of tenderneſs and com-aſſion for our King) and that “the King of *Spain* ſpoke of ‘ſending an Embaſſadour to his Majeſty.

These relations, and any thing of that kind, how weak-y ſoever founded, were very willingly heard. And from ence the Lord *Cottington* took occaſion to confer with the hancellor of the Exchequer (with whom he held a ſtrict riendſhip, they living, and keeping Houſe together) of “the ‘ill condition the King was in, and that he ought to think, ‘what Prince's kindneſs was like to be of moſt uſe and benefit to his Majeſty, and from whom he might hope to receive a Sum of Money; if not as much as might ſerve for ‘a Martial Expedition, yet ſuch an annual Exhibition as ‘might ſerve for his ſupport: that he had already experience ‘of *France*, and knew well the Intelligence that the Cardinal had at that very time with *Cromwell*: but he did verily ‘believe, that if the King of *Spain* were dexterouſly treated ‘with, and not more asked of him than could conſiſt with ‘his Affairs to ſpare, a good yearly ſupport might be procured There, and the expectation of it might be worth the ‘King's ſending an Embaſſadour thither. He ſaid, “he was ‘more of that opinion ſince the King had taken the reſolution of going for *Ireland*; where the King of *Spain*'s credit ‘might be of great benefit to him: that *Owen O Neil*, and ‘the old *Iriſh* of *Ulſter*, were ſtill in Armes againſt the King; ‘and would not ſubmit to the conditions which the general ‘Council of the Confederate Catholicks had conſented to ‘with the Marquis of *Ormond*: that O *Neil* had been bred ‘in *Spain*, and had a Regiment in *Flanders*, and ſo muſt have ‘an abſolute dependence upon his Catholick Majeſty, for ‘whom all the old *Iriſh* had ever had a particular devotion; ‘and if it were only to diſpoſe Him and that People to the ‘King's obedience, and to accept thoſe conditions which ‘might conveniently be given to them, it were well worth ‘ſuch a Journey; and the King of *Spain* would never refuſe ‘to gratify the King to the utmoſt that could be deſired in ‘that particular. The Chancellor thought this diſcourſe not unreaſonable, and asked him, “who would be fit to be ſent ‘thither? not imagining that he had any thought of going hither Himſelf. He Anſwer'd, “that, if the King would be ‘adviſed by him, he ſhould ſend them two thither, and he ‘did believe they ſhould do him very good Service.

Conference between the Lord Cottington *and the Chancellor of the Exchequer concerning the King's ſending an Embaſſy into* Spain.

THE Chancellor was weary of the Company he was in, and the buſineſs, which, having no proſpect but towards deſpair, was yet render'd more grievous by the continual Contentions and Animoſities between Perſons. He knew he was not in the Queen's Favour at all, and ſhould find no reſpect in that Court. However, he was very ſcrupulous, that the King might not ſuſpect that he was weary of his Attendance, or that any Body elſe might believe that he withdrew himſelf from waiting longer upon ſo deſperate a Fortune. In the end, he told the Lord *Cottington* "that he would only "be paſſive in the point, and refer it entirely to Him, if he "thought fit to diſpoſe the King to like it; and if the King "approv'd it ſo much as to take notice of it to the Chancellor, "and commend it as a thing he thought for his Service, he "would ſubmit to his Command.

The King declares those two to be his Embaſſadours.

THE Lord *Cottington*'s Heart was much ſet upon this imployment, and he magnaged ſo warily with the King, and preſented the whole Scheme to him ſo dexterouſly, that his Majeſty was much pleaſed with it; and ſhortly after declared his Reſolution publickly, "to ſend the Lord *Cottington*, "and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, his Embaſſadours Extraordinary into *Spain*; and Commanded them "to prepare "their own Commiſſion, and Inſtructions; and to begin their "Journey aſſoon as was poſſible.

BEFORE the King could begin his own Journey for *France*, and ſo to *Ireland*, his Majeſty thought it neceſſary, upon the whole proſpect of his Affairs with reference to all places, to put his buſineſs into as good a method as he could, and to diſpoſe of that number of Officers, and Soldiers, and other Perſons, who had preſented themſelves to be applied to his Service, or to leave them to take the beſt courſe they could for their own Subſiſtence. Of theſe, many were ſent into *Ireland* with the Ships which carried the King's Goods, with recommendation to the Marquis of *Ormond*, "to put them "into his Army till the King came thither. Since the *Scots* were no better diſpoſed to ſerve, or receive the King for the preſent, his Majeſty was reſolv'd to give the Marquis of *Mountroſe* all the Encouragement he deſired to viſit them, and to incline them to a better temper.

THERE was then at the *Hague Cornificius Wolfelte*, Embaſſadour extraordinary from the King of *Denmark* to the States General; who came with a great Train and great State, and was himſelf a Man of vanity and oſtentation, and took pains to be thought ſo great a Man by his own Intereſt, that he did not enough extol the power of his Maſter; which prov'd his ruin after his return. He had left *Denmark* before the

News came thither of the Murther of the King, and ſo he had no Credentials for his Majeſty, by reaſon whereof he could not receive any publick formal Audience; but deſired "the "King's leave that he might, as by accident, be admitted to "ſpeak to him at the Queen of *Bohemia*'s Court; where his Majeſty uſed to be every day; and there the Embaſſadour often ſpoke to him. The Marquis of *Mountroſe* had found means to endear himſelf much to this Embaſſadour, who gave him encouragement to hope for a very good reception in *Denmark*, if the King would ſend him thither, and that he might obtain Armes and Ammunition there for *Scotland*. The Embaſſadour told him, "that, if the King would write "a Letter to him to that purpoſe, he would preſently ſupply "him with ſome Money and Armes, in aſſurance that his Ma"ſter would very well approve of what he ſhould do. The Marquis of *Mountroſe* well knew, that the King was not able to ſupply him with the leaſt proportion of Money to begin his Journey; and therefore he had only propoſed, "that the "King would give him Letters, in the form he preſcribed, to "ſeveral Princes in *Germany*, whoſe affections he pretended "to know; which Letters he ſent by ſeveral Officers, who were to bring the Soldiers or Armes they ſhould obtain, to a Rendezvous he appointed near *Hamburg*; and reſolv'd himſelf to go into *Sweden* and *Denmark*, in hope to get ſupplies in both thoſe places, both from the Crowns, and by the contribution of many *Scotiſh* Officers, who had Command and Eſtates in thoſe Countries; and to have Credentials, by virtue of which he might appear Embaſſadour extraordinary from the King, if he ſhould find it expedient; though he did intend rather to negotiate his buſineſs in private, and without any publick Character. All this was reſolv'd before his confidence, at leaſt his familiarity with the Embaſſadour, was grown leſs. But, upon the Encouragement he had from him, he mov'd the King "for his Letter to the Embaſſadour, to "aſſiſt the Marquis of *Mountroſe* with his Advice, and with "his Intereſt in *Denmark*, and in any other Court, to the end "that he might obtain the Loan of Monies, Armes, and Am"munition, and whatever elſe was neceſſary to enable the "Marquis to proſecute his intended Deſcent into *Scotland*. The King, glad that he did not preſs for ready Money, which he was not able to ſupply him with, gave him ſuch Letters as he deſired to all Perſons, and particularly to the Embaſſadour himſelf, who, having order from his Maſter to preſent the King with a Sum of Money for his preſent occaſions, never inform'd the King thereof, but adviſed *Mountroſe* to procure ſuch a Letter from his Majeſty to him; which being done, *The Marquis of Montroſe goes to* Hamburg.

Marquis receiv'd that Money from him, and likewiſe ſome Armes; with which he began his unfortunate Enterpriſe; and proſecuted his Journey to *Hamburg*; where he expected to meet his *German* Troops, which he believ'd the Officers he had ſent thither with the King's Letters would be well able to raiſe, with the aſſiſtance of thoſe Princes to whom they had been ſent. But he was carried on by a ſtronger aſſurance he had receiv'd from ſome propheſies, and predictions, to which he was naturally given, "that he ſhould by his valour recover *Scotland* for the King, and from thence conduct an Army that ſhould ſettle his Majeſty in all his other Dominions.

THERE had been yet nothing done by the King with reference to *England* ſince the Murther of his Father; nor did there appear any thing, of any kind, to be attempted as yet there: there was ſo terrible a Conſternation, that ſtill poſſeſſed the Spirits of that People, that though Men's Affections were greater, and more general for the King, out of the Horror and Deteſtation they had of the late Parricide, yet the owning it was too penal for their broken Courage; nor was it believ'd poſſible for any Man to contribute any thing, at preſent, for their Deliverance. However, moſt Men were of opinion, "that it was neceſſary for the King to publiſh ſome Declaration, that he might not ſeem utterly to give over his Claim there; and to keep up the Spirits of his Friends. And many from *England*, who in the midſt of their deſpair would give ſome Counſel, adviſed, "that there might be ſomewhat publiſh'd by the King that might give ſome Check to the general ſubmitting to the *Engagement*, which was ſo univerſally preſſed there. The King being every day advertiſed, how much this was deſired and expected, and the *Scotiſh* Lords being of the ſame opinion, hoping that ſomewhat might be inſerted in it that might favour the Presbyterians, his Majeſty propos'd at the Council "that there might be ſome draught prepar'd of a Proclamation, or Declaration, only with reference to the Kingdom of *England*; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had been moſt converſant in Inſtruments of that nature, was appointed to make one ready; though he had declared, "that he did not know what ſuch a Declaration could contain, and therefore that he thought it not ſeaſonable to publiſh any. The Prince of *Orange* was preſent at that Council, and whether from his own opinion, or from the Suggeſtion of the *Scotiſh* Lords, who were much favour'd by him, he wiſh'd, "that, in regard of the great differences which were in *England* about matters of Religion, the King would offer, in this "Decla-

The Chancellor of the Exchequer appointed to make a Declaration relating to England.

"Declaration, to refer all matters in controverſy concerning "Religion to a National Synod; in which there ſhould be admitted ſome Forreign Divines from the Proteſtant Churches; which, he thought, would be a Popular Clauſe, and might be acceptable abroad as well as at home: and the King believ'd no objection could be made againſt it; and ſo thought fit that ſuch a Clauſe ſhould be inſerted.

WITHIN a ſhort time after the Council was parted, the Prince of *Orange* ſent for the Lord *Cottington*, and told him, "he was not enough acquainted with the Chancellor of the "Exchequer, but deſir'd him to intreat him not to be too "ſharp in this Declaration, the end whereof was to Unite, "and Reconcile different Humours; and that he found many "had a great apprehenſion, that the ſharpneſs of His Style "would irritate them much more. The Chancellor knew well enough that this came from the Lord *Lautherdale*, and he wiſhed heartily that the Charge might be committed to any Body elſe, proteſting, "that he was never leſs diſpoſed "in his own conceptions, and reflections, to undertake any "ſuch Task in his Life; and that he could not imagine how "it was poſſible for the King to publiſh a Declaration at that "time (his firſt Declaration) without much ſharpneſs againſt "the Murtherers of his Father; which no Body could ſpeak againſt; nor could he be excuſed from the Work impoſed upon him: and the Prince of *Orange* aſſured him, "it was "not That kind of ſharpneſs which he wiſh'd ſhould be de"clined: and though he ſeem'd not willing farther to explain himſelf, it was evident that he wiſh'd that there might not be any ſharpneſs againſt the Presbyterians, for which there was at that time no occaſion.

THERE was one particular, which, without a full and diſtinct Inſtruction, the Chancellor could not preſume to expreſs. The great end of this Declaration was to confirm the Affection of as many as was poſſible for the King, and, conſequently, as few were to be made deſperate, as might conſiſt with the King's Honour, and neceſſary Juſtice, ſo that how far that Clauſe, which was eſſential to a Declaration upon this ſubject, concerning the Imdemnity of Perſons, ſhould extend, was the queſtion. And in this there was difference of opinions; the moſt prevalent was, "that no Perſons ſhould "be excepted from Pardon, but only ſuch who had an im"mediate hand in the execrable Murther of the King, by "being his Judges, and pronouncing that Sentence, and they "who perform'd the Execution. Others ſaid, they "knew "that ſome were in the Liſt of the Judges, and named by "the Parliament, who found Excuſes to be abſent; and others, that "ſome who were not named, more contriv'd and con-"tributed to that odious proceeding, than many of the Actors "in it. But the reſolution was, that the former ſhould be only comprehended.

When the Declaration was prepared, and read at the Board, there was a deep Silence, no Man ſpeaking to any part of it. But another day was appointed for a ſecond reading it, againſt which time every Man might be better prepared to ſpeak to it: and in the mean time the Prince of *Orange*, in regard he was not a perfect Maſter of the *Engliſh* Tongue, deſir'd he might have a Copy of it, that he might the better underſtand it. And the Chancellor of the Exchequer deſir'd, "that not only the Prince of *Orange* might have "a Copy, but that his Majeſty would likewiſe have one, "and, after he ſhould have peruſed it himſelf, he would ſhew "it to any other, who he thought was fit to adviſe with; there being many Lords and other Perſons of Quality about him, who were not of the Council: and he mov'd, "that he "might have liberty himſelf to Communicate it to ſome who "were like to make a judgement, how far any thing of that "Nature was like to be acceptable, and agreeable to the minds "of the People; and named *Herbert* the Atturney General, and Dr *Steward*, who was Dean of the Chapel; and His opinion, in all things relating to the Church, the King had been adviſed by his Father to ſubmit to. All which was approv'd by the King; and, for that reaſon, a farther day was appointed for the ſecond reading. The Iſſue was, that, except two or three of the Council, who were of one and the ſame opinion of the whole, there were not two Perſons who were admitted to the peruſal of it, who did not take ſome exception to it, though ſcarce two made the ſame exception.

Different pinions in he King's ouncil a-out it when t was read.

Doctor *Steward*, though a Man of a very good underſtanding, was ſo exceedingly griev'd at the Clauſe of admitting Forreign Divines into a Synod that was to Conſult upon the Church of *England*, that he could not be ſatisfied by any Arguments that could be given of "the impoſſibility of any "effect, or that the Parliament would accept the Overture; "and that there could be no danger if it did, becauſe the "Number of thoſe Forreign Divines muſt be ſtill limited by "the King; but came one Morning to the Chancellor, with whom he had a Friendſhip, and proteſted "he had not ſlept "that Night, out of the Agony and Trouble, that He, who "he knew lov'd the Church ſo well, ſhould conſent to a "Clauſe ſo much againſt the Honour of it; and went from him to the King, to beſeech him never to approve it. Some were of opinion "that there were too few excepted from

"Pardon; by which the King would not have Confiſcations "enough to ſatisfy, and reward his Party: and others thought, "that there were too many excepted; and that it was not "prudent to make ſo many Men deſperate; but that it would "be ſufficient to except *Cromwell*, and *Bradſhaw*, and three or "four more of thoſe whoſe Malice was moſt notorious; the "whole Number not to exceed Six.

THE *Scots* did not value the Clauſe for Forreign Divines, who, they knew, could perſwade little in an *Engliſh* Synod; but they were implacably offended, that the King mention'd the Government of the Church of *England*, and the Book of Common-Prayer, with ſo much Reverence and Devotion; which was the ſharpneſs they moſt fear'd of the Chancellor's Style, when they thought now the Covenant to be neceſſary to be inſiſted upon more than ever. So that, when the Declaration was read at the Board the ſecond time, moſt Men being mov'd with the diſcourſes, and fears which were expreſs'd abroad of ſome ill effects it might produce, it was more faintly Debated, and Men ſeem'd not to think that the publiſhing any, at this time, was of ſo much importance, as they formerly had conceiv'd it to be. By all which Men may judge, how hard a thing it was for the King to reſolve, and act with that ſteadineſs and reſolution, which the moſt unproſperous Condition doth more require than the State that is leſs perplex'd and intangled. Thus the Declaration ſlept without farther propoſition to publiſh any.

Upon which it was laid aſide.

ALL things being now as much provided for as they were like to be, the two Embaſſadours for *Spain* were very ſollicitous to begin their Journey, the King being at laſt reſolv'd not to give his Mother the trouble of making a Journey to meet him, but to go himſelf directly to S^t *Germain*'s, where her Majeſty was. The Prince of *Orange*, to advance that reſolution, had promis'd to ſupply the King with twenty thouſand pounds; which was too great a Loan for him to make, who had already great debts upon him, though it was very little for the enabling the King to diſcharge the debts He and his Family had contracted at the *Hague*, and to make his Journey. Out of this Sum the Lord *Cottington*, and the Chancellor, were to receive ſo much as was deſign'd to defray their Journey to *Paris*: what was neceſſary for the diſcharge of their Embaſſy, or for making their Journey from *Paris*, was not yet provided. The King had ſome hope, that the Duke of *Lorrain* would lend him ſome Money; which he deſign'd for this ſervice; which made it neceſſary that they ſhould immediately reſort to *Bruſſels*, to finiſh that Negotiation, and from thence to proſecute their Journey.

IN the ſolliciting their firſt diſpatch at the *Hague*, they made a diſcovery that ſeem'd very ſtrange to them, though afterwards it was a truth that was very notorious. Their Journey having been put off ſome days, only for the receipt of that ſmall Sum, which was to be paid them out of the Money to be lent by the Prince of *Orange*, and *Hemflet* the Prince's chief Officer in ſuch affairs of Money having been ſome days at *Amſterdam* to negotiate that Loan, and no Money being return'd, they believ'd that there was ſome affected delay; and ſo went to the Prince of *Orange*, who had adviſ'd, and was well pleaſ'd with that Embaſſy, to know when that Money would be ready for the King, that he might likewiſe reſolve upon the time for his own Journey. The Prince told them, he believ'd, "that They, who knew *London* ſo well, and "had heard ſo much diſcourſe of the Wealth of *Holland*, "would wonder very much that he ſhould have been endea-"vouring above ten days to borrow twenty thouſand pounds; "and that the richeſt Men in *Amſterdam* had promiſed him "to ſupply him with it, and that one half of it was not yet "provided. He ſaid, "it was not that there was any que-"ſtion of his credit, which was very good; and that the ſe-"curity he gave, was as good as any Body deſir'd, and upon "which he could have double the Sum in leſs time, if he "would receive it in Paper, which was the Courſe of that "Country; where bargains being made for one hundred thou-"ſand pounds to be paid within ten days, it was never known "that twenty thouſand pounds was paid together in one "Town; but by Bills upon *Rotterdam*, *Harlem*, the *Hague*, "and *Antwerp*, and other places, which was as convenient, "or more, to all Parties; and he did verily believe, that "though *Amſterdam* could pay a Million within a Month, "upon any good occaſion, yet they would be troubled to "bring twenty thouſand pounds together into any one Room; "and that was the true reaſon, that the Money was not yet "brought to the *Hague*; which it ſhould be within few days; as it was accordingly.

The Embaſſadours for Spain *begin their journey.*

THE Embaſſadours took their leave of the King at the *Hague* before the middle of *May*, and had a Yatch from the Prince of *Orange*, that attended them at *Rotterdam*, and tranſported them with great convenience to *Antwerp*, where the Chancellor's Wife and his Family were arriv'd ten days before, and were ſettled in a good and convenient Houſe; where the Lord *Cottington* and He both Lodg'd whilſt they ſtay'd in that City. There they met the Lord *Jermyn* in his way towards the King, to haſten the King's Journey into *France*, upon the Queen's great importunity. He was very glad they were both come away from the King, and believ'd he ſhould more eaſily prevail with his Majeſty in all things, as indeed he did. After two or three days ſtay at *Antwerp*, they went to *Bruſſels* to deliver their Credentials both to the Arch-Duke, and the Duke of *Lorrain*, and to viſit the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, and, upon their Landing at *Bruſſels*, they took it for a good Omen, that they were aſſured "that *le Brune*, who "had been one of the Plenipotentiaries at the Treaty at *Mun*-"*ſter*, on the behalf of the King of *Spain*, was then in that "Town with Credentials to viſit the King, and to condole "with him. They had an Audience, the next day, of the Arch Duke: they perform'd the Compliments to him from the King, and inform'd him of their Embaſſy into *Spain*, and deſired his recommendation, and good Offices in that Court; which he, according to his ſlow, and formal way of ſpeaking, conſented to: and they had no more to do with Him, but receiv'd the viſits from the Officers, in his Name, according to the ſtyle of that Court. Their main buſineſs was with the Duke of *Lorrain*, to procure Money for their Journey into *Spain*.

They viſit the Duke of Lorrain a Bruſſels.

THE Duke was a Prince that liv'd in a different manner from all other Soveraign Princes in the World: from the time, that he had been driven out of his Country by *France*, he had retir'd to *Bruſſels* with his Army, which he kept up very ſtrong, and ſerv'd the King of *Spain* with it againſt the *French*, upon ſuch terms, and conditions, as were made, and renew'd every year between them; by which he receiv'd great Sums of Money yearly from the *Spaniard*, and was ſure very rich in Money. He always Commanded apart in the Field, his Officers receiv'd no Orders but from himſelf: He always agreed at the Council of War what he ſhould do, and his Army was in truth the beſt part of the *Spaniſh* Forces. In the Town of *Bruſſels* he liv'd without any order, method, or ſtate of a Prince, except towards the *Spaniards* in his Treaties, and being preſent in their Councils, where he always kept his full Dignity: otherwiſe, he liv'd in a jolly familiarity with the Bourgeois and their Wives, and feaſted with them, but ſcarce kept a Court or any number of Servants, or Retinue. The Houſe wherein he liv'd was a very ordinary one, and not furniſh'd; nor was he often there, or eaſy to be found; ſo that the Embaſſadours could not eaſily ſend to him for an Audience. He receiv'd them in a lower Room with great Courteſy and Familiarity; and viſited them at their own Lodging. He was a Man of great Wit, and preſence of Mind, and, if he had not affected extravagancies, no Man knew better how to act the Prince. He lov'd his Money very much; yet the Lord *Cottington*'s dexterity and addreſs, prevail'd with him to lend the

King two thouſand Piſtols; which was all that was in their view for defraying their Embaſſy. But they hoped they ſhould procure ſome ſupply in *Spain*, out of which their own neceſſary Expences muſt be provided for.

THERE were two *Spaniards*, by whom all the Councils there were govern'd and conducted, and which the Arch-Duke himſelf could not controle; the Conde of *Pignoranda* (who was newly come from *Munſter*, being the other Plenipotentiary there; and ſtaid only at *Bruſſels*, in expectation of renewing the Treaty again with *France*; but, whilſt he ſtaid there, was in the higheſt Truſt of all the Affairs) and the Conde of *Fuenſaldagna*, who was the Governour of the Armes, and Commanded the Army next under the Arch-Duke; which was a ſubordination very little inferior to the being General. They were both very able and expert Men in buſineſs, and if they were not very wiſe Men, that Nation had none. The former was a Man of the Robe, of a great Wit, and much Experience, Proud, and, if he had not been a little too Pedantick, might very well be look'd upon as a very extraordinary Man, and was much improv'd by the excellent temper of *le Brune* (the other Plenipotentiary) who was indeed a wiſe Man, and by ſeeming to defer in all things to *Pignoranda*, govern'd him. The Conde of *Fuenſaldagna* was of a much better temper, more induſtry, and more inſinuation than *Spaniards* uſe to have. His greateſt Talent lay to Civil buſineſs; yet he was the beſt General of that time to all other offices and purpoſes, than what were neceſſary in the hour of Battle, when he was not ſo preſent and compos'd as at all other ſeaſons.

BOTH theſe receiv'd the Embaſſadours with the uſual Civilities, and return'd their viſits to their own Lodging, but ſeem'd not pleaſed with their Journey to *Madrid*, and ſpoke much of the neceſſities that Crown was in, and its diſability to aſſiſt the King; which the Embaſſadours imputed to the influence *Don Alonzo de Cardinas* had upon them both; who remain'd ſtill under the ſame Character in *England* he had done for many years before. The ſame Civilities were perform'd between *le Brune* and them; who treated them with much more freedom, and encourag'd them to hope well from their Negotiation in *Spain*; acquainted them with his own Inſtructions, "to give the King all aſſurance of the affection "of his Catholick Majeſty, and of his readineſs to do any "thing for him that was in his power. He ſaid, "he only "deferr'd his Journey, becauſe he heard that the King intend"ed to ſpend ſome time at *Breda*; and he had rather attend "him There, than at the *Hague*.

WHEN the Embaſſadours had diſpatch'd all their buſineſs

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at *Bruſſels*, and receiv'd the Money from the Duke of *Lorrain*, they return'd to *Antwerp*; where they were to Negotiate for the return of their Monies to *Madrid*; which requir'd very much warineſs, the Bills from thence finding now more difficulties at *Madrid*, than they had done in former times.

By the Letters my Lord *Jermyn* brought, and the importunity he uſed, the King reſolv'd to begin his Journey ſooner than he thought to have done, that is ſooner than he thought he ſhould have been able, all proviſions being to begin to be made both for his Journey into *France*, and from thence into *Ireland*, after the Money was receiv'd that ſhould pay for them. But the Queen's impatience was ſo great to ſee his Majeſty, that the Prince of *Orange*, and the Princeſs Royal his Wife, were as impatient to give her that ſatisfaction. Though her Majeſty could not juſtly diſlike any reſolution the King had taken, nor could imagine whither he ſhould go but into *Ireland*, ſhe was exceedingly diſpleas'd that any reſolution at all had been taken before ſhe was conſulted. She was angry that the Counſellors were choſen without her directions, and looked upon all that had been done, as done in order to exclude her from medling in the Affairs; all which ſhe imputed principally to the Chancellor of the Exchequer: nevertheleſs ſhe was not pleas'd with the deſign of the Negotiation in *Spain*. For though ſhe had no confidence of his affection to her, or rather of his complying with all her Commands, yet ſhe had all confidence in his Duty and Integrity to the King, and therefore wiſh'd he ſhould be ſtill about his Perſon, and truſted in his buſineſs; which ſhe thought him much fitter for than ſuch a Negotiation, which ſhe believ'd, out of her natural prejudice to *Spain*, would produce no advantage to the King.

The King removes to Breda.

That the Queen might receive ſome content, in knowing that the King had begun his Journey, the Prince of *Orange* deſir'd him, "whilſt his Servants prepar'd what was neceſſary "at the *Hague*, that Himſelf, and that part of his Train that "was ready, would go to *Breda*, and ſtay there till the reſt "were ready to come up to him; that being his beſt way to *Flanders*, through which he muſt paſs into *France*. *Breda* was a Town of the Prince's own, where he had a handſome Palace and Caſtle, and a place where the King might have many Divertiſements. Hither the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour *le Brune*, came to attend his Majeſty, and deliver'd his Maſter's Compliments to his Majeſty, and offer'd his own Services to him, whilſt he ſhould remain in thoſe Provinces; he being at that time deſign'd to remain Embaſſadour to the United Provinces; as he did; and died ſhortly after at the *Hague* with a general regret. He was born a Subject to the King of *Spain*, in tha part of *Burgundy* that was under his Dominion; and having been from his youth always bred in buſineſs, and being a Man of great Parts, and Temper, he might very well be looked upon as one of the beſt States men in Chriſtendom, and who beſt underſtood the true Intereſt of all the Princes of *Europe*.

ASSOON as the Lord *Cottington*, and the Chancellor, heard of the King's being at *Breda*, and that he intended to haſten his Journey for *France*, they reſolv'd, having in truth not yet Negotiated all things neceſſary for their Journey, to ſtay till the King paſſed by, and not to go to St *Germain*'s till the firſt Interview, and Eclarciſments were paſſed between the King and Queen, that they might then be the better able to judge what Weather was like to be.

Thence to Antwerp:

THE King was receiv'd at *Antwerp* with great Magnificence: He enter'd in a very rich Coach with ſix Horſes, which the Arch-Duke ſent a preſent to him when he came into the *Spaniſh* Dominions: He was treated there, at the Charge of the City, very ſplendidly for two days: and went then to *Bruſſels*, where he was lodged in the Palace, and Royally entertain'd. But the *French* Army, under the Command of the *Conte de Harcourt*, was two days before ſet down before *Cambray*; with the News whereof the *Spaniſh* Council was ſurpriſed, and in ſo much diſorder, that the Arch-Duke was gone to the Army to *Mons*, and *Valenciennes*, whilſt the King was in *Antwerp*; ſo that the King was receiv'd only by his Officers; who perform'd their parts very well.

Thence to Bruſſels.

HERE the *Conde* of *Pignoranda* waited upon the King in the Quality of an Embaſſadour, and cover'd. And his Majeſty ſtaid here three or four days, not being able ſuddainly to reſolve which way he ſhould paſs into *France*. But he was not troubled long with that doubt; for the *French* thought to have ſurpriſed that Town, and to have caſt up their Line of Circumvallation before any Supplies could be put in; but the *Conde Fuenſeldagna* found a way to put ſeven or eight hundred Foot into the Town; upon which the *French* raiſed the Siege; and ſo the King made his Journey by the uſual way; and, near *Valenciennes*, had an Interview with the Arch-Duke; and, after ſome ſhort Ceremonies, continued on his Journey, and lodged at *Cambray*; where he was likewiſe treated by the *Conde de Garcies*, who was Governour there, and a very civil Gentleman.

The King had an interview with the Arch-Duke near Valenciennes.

ABOUT a week after the King left *Bruſſels*, the two Embaſſadours proſecuted their Journey for *Paris*; where they ſtaid onely one day, and then went to St *Germain*'s; where the King and the Queen his Mother, with both their Families, and the Duke of *York's*, then were; by whom they were receiv'd graciouſly. They had no reaſon to repent their caution in ſtaying ſo long behind the King, for they found the Court ſo full of jealouſy and diſorder, that every Body was glad that they were come. After the firſt two or three days that the King and Queen had been together, which were ſpent in tears and lamentations for the great alteration that had happen'd ſince their laſt parting, the Queen begun to confer with the King of his buſineſs, and what courſe he meant to take; in which ſhe found him ſo reſerv'd, as if he had no mind ſhe ſhould be converſant in it. He made no Apologies to her; which ſhe expected; nor any profeſſions of reſigning himſelf up to her Advice. On the contrary, upon ſome expoſtulations, he had told her plainly, "that he would always perform his Duty towards her with great affection and exactneſs, but that in his buſineſs he would obey his own reaſon and judgement; and did as good as deſire her not to trouble her ſelf in his Affairs: and finding her paſſions ſtrong, he frequently retired from her with ſome abruptneſs, and ſeem'd not to deſire to be ſo much in her Company as ſhe expected; and preſcribed ſome new rules to be obſerv'd in his own retirement, which he had not been accuſtom'd to.

THIS kind of unexpected behaviour gave the Queen much trouble. She begun to think, that this diſtance, which the King ſeem'd to affect, was more than the Chancellor of the Exchequer could wiſh; and that there was ſome Body elſe, who did her more diſſervice: inſomuch as to the Ladies who were about her, whereof ſome were very much his Friends, ſhe ſeem'd to wiſh, that the Chancellor were come. There was a Gentleman, who was newly come from *England*, and who came to the *Hague* after the Chancellor had taken his leave of the King, and had been ever ſince very cloſe about him, being one of the Grooms of his Bed-Chamber, one Mr *Thomas Elliot*, a Perſon ſpoken of before; whom the King's Father had formerly ſent into *France*, at the ſame time that he reſolv'd the Prince ſhould go for the Weſt; and for no other reaſon, but that he ſhould not attend upon his Son. And he had given order, "that if he ſhould return out of *France*, and "come into the Weſt, the Council ſhould not ſuffer him to be "about the Prince; with whom he thought he had too much "Credit, and would uſe it ill; and he had never ſeen the Prince from the time he left *Oxford* till now. He was a bold Man, and ſpoke all things confidently, and had not that reverence for the late King which he ought to have had; and leſs for the Queen; though he had great obligations to both; yet being not ſo great as he had a mind to, he looked upon them as

Mr Elliot *comes to the King: his influence upon his Majeſty.*

none at all. This Gentleman came to the King juſt as h
left the *Hague*, and both as he was a new Comer, and as one fo
whom his Majeſty had formerly much kindneſs, was ver
well receiv'd; and being one who would receive no injur
from his modeſty, made the ſavour the King ſhew'd him a
bright, and to ſhine as much in the Eyes of all Men, as wa
poſſible. He was never from the Perſon of the King, an
always whiſpering in his Ear, taking upon him to underſtan
the ſenſe and opinion of all the Loyal Party in *England*: An
when he had a mind that the King ſhould think well, or i
of any Man, he told him, "that he was much belov'd by, o
"very odious to all his Party there. By theſe infuſions, h
had prevailed with him to look with leſs grace upon the Ea
of *Briſtol*, who came from *Caen* (where he had hitherto re
ſided) to kiſs his hands, than his own good Nature woul
have inclined him to; and more to diſcountenance the Lor
Digby, and to tell him plainly, "that he ſhould not ſerv
"him in the place of Secretary of State; in which he ha
ſerv'd his Father, and from which Men have ſeldom been re
mov'd upon the Deſcent of the Crown; and not to adm
either Father or Son to be of his Council; which was mor
extraordinary. He told the King, "it would be the moſt un
"popular thing he could do, and which would loſe him mor
"Hearts in *England* than any other thing, if he were though
"to be govern'd by his Mother. And in a Month's time th
he had been about the King, he begun already to be looke
upon as very like to become the Favorite. He had uſed th
Queen with wonderful neglect when ſhe ſpoke to him, an
had got ſo much Intereſt with the King, that he had procure
a promiſe from his Majeſty to make Colonel *Windham*, who
Daughter Mr *Elliot* had Married, Secretary of State; an hone
Gentleman, but extreme unequal to that Province; toward
which he could not pretend a better qualification, than th
his Wife had been Nurſe to the Prince, who was now King.

In theſe kind of humours and indiſpoſitions the Embaſſ
dours found the Court, when they came to St *Germain*
They had, during their ſtay at *Paris*, in their way to Cour
conferr'd with the Earl of *Briſtol*, and his Son the Lord *Di*
by; who breath'd out their Griefs to them; and the Lor
Digby was the more troubled to find that Mr *Elliot*, who was
known and declared Enemy of his, had gotten ſo much Cr
dit with the King, as to be able to ſatisfy his own malice upo
him, by the countenance of his Majeſty; in whom, he kne
the King his Father deſired, that he ſhould of all Men hav
the leaſt Intereſt. After they had been a day or two ther
the Chancellor of the Exchequer thinking it his Duty to ſ

ſomewhat to the Queen in particular, and knowing that ſhe expected he ſhould do ſo, and the King having told him at large all that had paſſed with his Mother, and the ill humour ſhe was in (all which his Majeſty related in a more exalted Dialect than he had been accuſtom'd to) and his Majeſty being very willing to underſtand what the Queen thought upon the whole, the Chancellor asked a private Audience; which her Majeſty readily granted. And after ſhe had gently expoſtulated upon the old paſſages at *Jerſey*, ſhe concluded with the mention of the great confidence the King her Husband had always repoſed in him, and thereupon renew'd her own gracious profeſſions of good will towards him. Then ſhe complain'd, not without tears, of the King's unkindneſs towards her, and of his way of living with her, of ſome expreſſions he had uſed in diſcourſe in her own preſence, and of what he had ſaid in other places, and of the great credit Mr *Elliot* had with him, and of his rude behaviour towards her Majeſty, and laſtly of the incredible deſign of making *Windham* Secretary; "who, beſides his other unfitneſs, ſhe ſaid, "would be ſure "to joyn with the other to leſſen the King's kindneſs to her "all they could. The Chancellor, after he had made all the profeſſions of duty to her Majeſty which became him, and ſaid what he really believ'd of the King's kindneſs and reſpect for her, asked her, "whether ſhe would give him leave to take "notice of any thing ſhe had ſaid to him, or, in general, that "he found her Majeſty unſatisfied with the King's unkind-"neſs? The Queen replied, "that ſhe was well contented he "ſhould take notice of every thing She had ſaid; and, above "all of his purpoſe to make *Windham* Secretary: of which the King had not made the leaſt mention, though he had taken notice to him of moſt other things the Queen had ſaid to him.

A private Audience of the Chancellor with the Queen.

THE Chancellor, ſhortly after, found an opportunity to inform the King of all that had paſſed from the Queen, in ſuch a method as might give him occaſion to enlarge upon all the particulars. The King heard him very greedily, and proteſted, "that he deſir'd nothing more than to live very "well with the Queen; towards whom he would never fail "in his Duty, as far as was conſiſtent with his Honour, and "the good of his Affairs; which, at preſent, it may be, re-"quired more reſervation towards the Queen, and to have it "believ'd that he Communicated leſs with Her than he did, "or than he intended to do: that, if he did not ſeem to be "deſirous of her Company, it was only when ſhe griev'd him "by ſome Importunities, in which he could not ſatisfy her: "and that her exception againſt *Elliot* was very unjuſt; an[d] “that he knew well the Man to be very honeſt, and that he “lov'd him well; and that the prejudice the King his Father “had againſt him, was only by the malice of the Lord *Digby*, “who hated him without a cauſe, and had likewiſe inform'd “the Queen of ſome falſhoods, which had incenſed her Ma“jeſty againſt him; and ſeem'd throughout much concern'd to juſtify *Elliot*, againſt whom the Chancellor himſelf had no exceptions, but receiv'd more reſpects from him than he paid to moſt other Men.

WHEN the Chancellor ſpoke of making *Windham* Secretary, the King did not own the having promiſed to do it but “that he intended to do it: the Chancellor ſaid, “he was “glad he had not promiſed it; and that he hoped, he would “never do it: that he was an honeſt Gentleman, but in no “degree qualified for that Office. He put him in mind o Secretary *Nicholas*, who was then there to preſent his Duty to him; “that he was a Perſon of ſuch known affection and “honeſty, that he could not do a more ungracious thing than “to paſs Him by. The King ſaid, “he thought Secretary “*Nicholas* to be a very honeſt Man; but he had no title t “that Office more than another Man: that Mr *Windham* had “not any experience in that Employment, but that it de“pended ſo much upon forms, that he would quickly be in“ſtructed in it: that he was a very honeſt Man, for whom “he had never done any thing, and had now nothing elſe to “give him but this place; for which he doubted not but, in “a ſhort time, he would make himſelf very fit. All that the Chancellor could prevail with his Majeſty, was to ſuſpend the doing it for ſome time, and that he would hear him again upon the Subject, before he took a final Reſolution. For the reſt, he promiſed “to ſpeak upon ſome particulars with the “Queen, and to live with her with all kindneſs and free“dom, that ſhe might be in good humour. But he heard Her, and all others, very unwillingly, who ſpoke againſt M *Windham*'s Parts for being Secretary of State.

ONE day the Lord *Cottington*, when the Chancellor and ſome others were preſent, told the King very gravely (according to his cuſtom, who never ſmiled when he made others merry) “that he had an humble Suit to him, on the “behalf of an old Servant of his Father's, and whom, he aſ“ſured him upon his knowledge, his Father lov'd as well as “he did any Man of that condition in *England*; and that he “had been for many years one of his Falconers; and he did “really believe him to be one of the beſt Falconers in *Eng*“*land*; and thereupon enlarged himſelf (as he could do very well, in all the terms of that Science) to ſhew how very

ſkil

ſkilful he was in that Art. The King asked him, “what he “would have him do for him? *Cottington* told him, “it was “very true that his Majeſty kept no Falconers, and the poor “Man was grown old, and could not Ride as he had uſed “to do; but that he was a very honeſt Man, and could Read “very well, and had as audible a voice as any Man need to “have; and therefore beſought his Majeſty, “that he would “make him his Chaplain; which ſpeaking with ſo compoſed a Countenance, and ſomewhat of earneſtneſs, the King looked upon him with a ſmile to know what he meant; when He, with the ſame gravity, aſſured him, “the Falconer was “in all reſpects as fit to be his Chaplain, as Colonel *Windham* “was to be Secretary of State; which ſo ſurpriſed the King, who had never ſpoken to him of the matter, all that were preſent being not able to abſtain from laughing, that his Majeſty was ſomewhat out of Countenance: and this being merrily told by ſome of the Standers by, it grew to be a ſtory in all Companies, and did really divert the King from the purpoſe, and made the other ſo much aſhamed of pretending to it, that there was no more diſcourſe of it.

An account of the affairs in Ireland *after the Marquis of* Ormond's *arrival there.*

WHILST all Endeavours were uſed to compoſe all ill humours here, that the King might proſecute his intended Voyage for *Ireland*, there came very ill news from *Ireland*. Aſſoon as the Marquis of *Ormond* was arriv'd, as hath been ſaid before, the Confederate Catholicks, who held their Aſſembly, as they had always done, at *Kilkenny*, ſent Commiſſioners to him to Congratulate his Arrival, and to enter upon a Treaty of Peace, that they might all return to their Obedience to the King. But the inconſtancy of that Nation was ſuch, that, notwithſtanding their experience of the ruin they had brought upon themſelves by their falling from their former Peace, and notwithſtanding that themſelves had ſent to *Paris* to importune the Queen and the Prince to ſend the Marquis of *Ormond* back to them, with all promiſes and proteſtations that they would not inſiſt upon any unreaſonable Conceſſions; now he was come upon their invitation to them, they made new demands in point of Religion, and inſiſted upon other things, which if he ſhould conſent to, would have irreconciled all the *Engliſh*, who were under the Lord *Inchiquin*, upon whom his principal confidence was placed: By this means ſo much time was ſpent, that the Winter paſſed without any agreement; whereby they might have advanc'd againſt the Parliament Forces, which were then weak, and in want of all manner of Supplies, whilſt the diſtractions continu'd in *England* between the Parliament and the Army, the diviſions in the Army, and the proſecution of the King;

during which the Governours there had work enough to lool
to themſelves; and left *Ireland* to provide for it ſelf: and i
that unfortunate People would have made uſe of the advan
tages that were offer'd, that Kingdom might indeed have bee
entirely Reduced to the King's Obedience.

THAT the Lord Lieutenant might even compel them t
preſerve themſelves, he went himſelf to *Kilkenny*, where th
Council ſate, about *Chriſtmas*, after three months had bee
ſpent from his arrival, that no more time might be loſt i
their Commiſſioners coming and going, and that the Sprin
might not be loſt as well as the Winter. And at laſt a Peac
was made and concluded; by which, againſt ſuch a day, th
Confederate Catholicks oblig'd themſelves, "to bring int
"the Field, a body of Horſe and Foot, with all proviſion
"for the Field, which ſhould be at the diſpoſal of the Lor
"Lieutenant, and to march as he ſhould appoint. The Treat
had been drawn out into the more length, in hope to hav
brought the whole Nation to the ſame agreement. And th
General Aſſembly, to which they all pretended to ſubmit, an
from which all had receiv'd their Commiſſions, as hath bee
ſaid, ſent to *Owen O Neile*, who remain'd in *Ulſter* with h
Army, and came not himſelf to *Kilkenny*, as he had promis'
to have done, upon pretence of his Indiſpoſition of healt
He profeſs'd "to ſubmit to whatſoever the General Aſſembl
"ſhould determine: but when they ſent the Articles, to whic
they had agreed, to be ſign'd by him, he took ſeveral e
ceptions, eſpecially in matters of Religion; which he thoug
was not enough provided for; and, in the end, poſitively d
clar'd "that he would not ſubmit, or be bound by them: a
at the ſame time he ſent to the Marquis of *Ormond*, "that
"would treat with him apart, and not concern himſelf in wh
"the Aſſembly reſolv'd upon.

THE truth is, there was nothing of Religion in th
contention; which proceeded from the Animoſity betwe
the two Generals, *O Neile* and *Preſton*, and the bitter F
ction between the old *Iriſh* and the other, who were
much hated by the old, as the *Engliſh* were; and laſtl
from the Ambition of *Owen O Neile*; who expected ſon
Conceſſions to be made to him in his own particular, whi
would very much have offended and incenſed the other P
ty, if they had been granted to him: ſo that the Aſſembly w
well pleaſed to leave him out, and concluded the Peace wit
out him.

HEREUPON the Lord Lieutenant uſed all poſſible e
deavours that the Army might be form'd, and ready
march in the beginning of the Spring. And though the

was not an appearance anſwerable to their promiſe, yet their Troops ſeem'd ſo good, and were ſo numerous, that he thought fit to march towards *Dublin*; and, in the way, to take all Caſtles and Garriſons, which were poſſeſs'd by the Parliament: in which they had very good Succeſs. For many of the Parliament Soldiers having ſerv'd the King, they took the firſt opportunity, upon the Marquis of *Ormond*'s approach within any diſtance, to come to him; and by that means ſeveral places Surrender'd likewiſe to him. Colonel *Monk*, who had formerly ſerv'd the King, and remain'd, for the ſpace of three or four years, Priſoner in the Tower, had been at laſt prevailed with by the Lord *Liſle* to ſerve the Parliament againſt the *Iriſh*; pleaſing himſelf with an opinion that he did not therein ſerve againſt the King. He was at this time Governour of *Dundalk*, a Garriſon about thirty miles from *Dublin*; which was no ſooner ſummon'd (*Tredagh*, and thoſe at a nearer diſtance, being taken) but he was compell'd by his own Soldiers to deliver it up; and if the Officer who Commanded the Party which Summon'd him, had not been his Friend, and thereby hoped to have reduced him to the King's Service, his Soldiers would have thrown him over the Walls, and made their own condittons afterwards; and moſt of that Garriſon betook themſelves to the King's Service.

The Marquis of Ormond *blocks up* Dublin.

The Lord Inchiquin *departs from him for* Munſter.

Recruits land at Dublin *from* England.

UPON all theſe Encouragements, before the Troops were come up to make the Army as numerous as it might have been, the Marquis was perſwaded to block up *Dublin* at a very little diſtance; having good reaſon to hope, from the ſmallneſs of the Garriſon, and a Party of well affected People within the Town, that it would in a ſhort time have been given up to him. In the mean time, he uſed all the means he could to haſten the *Iriſh* Troops, ſome whereof were upon their march, and others not yet raiſed, to come up to the Army. By all their Letters from *London* (with which, by the way of *Dublin*, and the Ports of *Munſter*, there was good Intelligence) they underſtood, that there were fifteen hundred, or two thouſand Men ſhipp'd for *Ireland*: and the wind having been for ſome time againſt their coming for *Dublin*; there was an apprehenſion that they might be gone for *Munſter*: whereupon the Lord *Inchiquin*, who was not confident of all his Garriſons there, very unhappily departed with ſome Troops of Horſe to look after his Province; there being then no cauſe to apprehend any ſally out of *Dublin*, where they were not in a condition to look out of their own Walls. But he was not gone above two days, when the Wind coming fair, the Ships expected came into the Port of *Dublin*;

and landed a greater number of Soldiers, eſpecially of Horſe than was reported; and brought the News that *Cromwe* himſelf was made Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and intended to b ſhortly there with a very great ſupply of Horſe and Foot This Fleet that was already come, had brought Armes, an Cloaths, and Money, and Victuals; which much exalted th Garriſon and the City; which preſently turn'd out of th Town ſome of thoſe who were ſuſpected to wiſh well to th Marquis of *Ormond*, and impriſon'd others. The ſecond da after the arrival of the Succours, *Jones*, who had been Lawyer, and was then Governour of *Dublin*, at Noon-day march'd out of the City, with a Body of three thouſan Foot, and three or four Troops of Horſe, and fell upon tha Quarter which was next the Town; where they found ſo little reſiſtance that they adventur'd upon the next; and i ſhort ſo diſorder'd the whole Army, one half whereof wa on the other ſide the River, that the Lord Lieutenant, afte he had, in the head of ſome Officers whom he drew together, Charg'd the Enemy with the loſs of many of thoſe wh follow'd him, was at laſt compell'd to draw off the whol Army, which was ſo diſcomfited, that he did not think fit t return them again to their Poſts, till both the Troops whic he had were refreſh'd, and compoſed, and their Numbers encreaſed by the Levies which ought to have been made befor and which were now in a good forwardneſs.

Jones *ſallies out of* Dublin, *and beats the Marquis of* Ormond's *Army.*

It may be remember'd, that the general Inſurrections i the laſt year, the revolt of the Navy, and the Invaſion of th *Scots*, encouraged and drawn in by the Presbyterian Party had ſo diſturb'd and obſtructed the Counſels both in the Parliament, and in the Army, that nothing had been done in a that year towards the relief of *Ireland*, except the ſending ove the Lord *Liſle* as Lieutenant, with a Commiſſion that was determin'd at the end of ſo many Months, and which had give ſo little relief to the *Engliſh*, that it only diſcover'd more thei weakneſs, and animoſity towards each other, than obſtructe the *Iriſh* in making their progreſs in all the parts of the Kingdom; and the more confirm'd the Lord *Inchiquin* to purſu his Reſolutions of ſerving the King, and of receiving the Marquis of *Ormond* how meanly ſoever attended, and to unit with the *Iriſh*; the perfecting of which conjunction, with ſ general a ſucceſs, brought ſo great reproach upon the Parliament, with reference to the loſs of *Ireland*, that the noiſ thereof was very great: So that *Cromwell* thought it hig time, in his own Perſon, to appear upon a Stage of ſo grea Action. There had been always Men enough to be ſpar'd ou of the Army to have been ſent upon that Expedition, whe

Cromwell *made Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland.

the other difficulties were at higheſt; but the conducting it then was of that importance, that it was, upon the matter, to determine which power ſhould be ſuperior, the Presbyterian or the Independent. And therefore the one had ſet up and deſign'd *Waller* for that command, and *Cromwell*, againſt Him and that Party, had inſiſted, that it ſhould be given to ***Lambert***, the ſecond Man of the Army, who was known to have as great a deteſtation of the Presbyterian power, as he had of the Prerogative of the Crown: and the Conteſts between the two Factions, which of theſe ſhould be ſent, had ſpent a great part of the laſt year, and of their Winter Counſels. But now, when all the Domeſtick differences were compos'd by their ſucceſſes in the field, and the bloody proſecution of their civil Counſels, ſo that there could be little done to the diſturbance of the Peace of ***England***, and when *Waller*'s Friends were ſo ſuppreſs'd, that he was no more thought of, *Cromwell* began to think that the committing the whole Government of ***Ireland***, with ſuch an Army as was neceſſary to be ſent thither, was too great a Truſt even for his beloved ***Lambert*** himſelf, and was to leſſen his own power and authority, both in the Army which was commanded by ***Fairfax***, and in the other, that, being in ***Ireland***, would, upon any occaſion, have great influence upon the Affairs of ***England***. And therefore, whilſt there appear'd no other obſtructions in the relief of *Ireland* (which was every day loudly call'd for) than the determining who ſhould take that Charge, ſome of his Friends, who were always ready upon ſuch occaſions, on a ſuddain propos'd *Cromwell* Himſelf the Lieutenant General, to conduct that Expedition.

CROMWELL himſelf was always abſent when ſuch Overtures were to be made; and whoever had propos'd ***Lambert***, had propos'd it as a thing moſt agreeable to *Cromwell*'s deſire; and therefore, when they heard *Cromwell* Himſelf propoſed for the ſervice, and by thoſe who they were ſure intended him no affront, they immediately acquieſced in the Propoſition, and look'd upon the change as a good expedient: on the other ſide, the Presbyterian party was no leſs affected, and concluded that this was only a trick to defer the ſervice, and that he never did intend to go thither in Perſon; or that if he did, his abſence from ***England*** would give them all the advantages they could wiſh, and that they ſhould then recover entirely their General ***Fairfax*** to their Party; who was already much broken in Spirit upon the concurrence he had been drawn to, and declar'd ſome bitterneſs againſt the Perſons who had led him to it. And ſo in a moment both Parties were agreed, and *Oliver Cromwell* elected and declar'd to be Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, with as ample, and independent a Commiſſion, as could be prepar'd.

CROMWELL, how little ſurpriſed ſoever with this deſignation, appear'd the next day in the Houſe full of confuſion and irreſolution; which the natural temper, and compoſure of his underſtanding could hardly avoid, when he leaſt deſir'd it; and therefore, when it was now to his purpoſe, he could act it to the life. And after much heſitation, and many expreſſions of " his own unworthineſs, and diſability to ſupport " ſo great a Charge, and of the entire reſignation of himſelf " to Their commands, and abſolute dependence upon God's " providence and bleſſing, from whom he had receiv'd many " Inſtances of his Favour, he ſubmitted to their good will and pleaſure; and deſir'd them " that no more time might be loſt " in the preparations which were to be made for ſo great a " Work; for he did confeſs that Kingdom to be reduced to " ſo great ſtreights, that he was willing to engage his own " Perſon in this expedition, for the difficulties which ap- " pear'd in it; and more out of hope, with the hazard of his " life, to give ſome obſtruction to the ſucceſſes which the Re- " bels were at preſent exalted with (for ſo he call'd the Marquis of *Ormond*, and all who joyn'd with him) "that ſo the Com- " mon-Wealth might retain ſtill ſome footing in that King- " dom, till they might be able to ſend freſh Supplies, than out " of any expectation, that, with the ſtrength he carried, he " ſhould be able, in any ſignal degree, to prevail over them.

He provides forces for his going thither.

IT was an incredible expedition that he uſed from this minute after his aſſuming that Charge, in the raiſing of Money, providing of Shipping, and drawing of Forces together, for this enterpriſe. Before he could be ready himſelf to march, he ſent three thouſand Foot and Horſe to *Milford* Haven, to be Tranſported, aſſoon as they arriv'd there, to *Dublin*; all things being ready there for their Tranſportation; which Troops, by the contrary Winds, were conſtrain'd to remain there for many days. And that cauſed the report in *Ireland*, by the intelligence from *London*, that *Cromwell* intended to make a deſcent in *Munſter*; which unhappily divided the Lord *Inchiquin*, and a good Body of his Men from the Lord Lieutenant, as hath been ſaid, when he march'd towards *Dublin*. Nor did the Marquis of *Ormond* in truth at that time intend to have march'd thither with that expedition, until his Army ſhould be grown more numerous, and more accuſtom'd to diſcipline, but the wonderful ſucceſſes of thoſe Troops, which were ſent before, in the taking of *Trim*, *Dundalk*, and all the out Garriſons, and the invitation and intelligence he had from within *Dublin*, made him unwilling to loſe any more time, ſince he was ſure that the croſsneſs of the Wind only hinder'd the arrival of thoſe Supplies, which were deſign'd thither out of *England*: and the arrival of thoſe Supplies, the very day before his coming before *Dublin*, enabled the Governour thereof to make that Sally which is mention'd before; and had that Succeſs which is mention'd.

The Marquis of *Ormond*, at that time, drew off his whole Army from *Dublin* to *Tredagh*, where he meant to remain till he could put it into ſuch a poſture, that he might proſecute his farther deſign. And a full accoūnt of all theſe particulars met *Cromwell* at his arrival at *Milford* Haven, when he rather expected to hear of the loſs of *Dublin*, and was in great perplexity to reſolve what he was then to do. But all thoſe clouds being diſperſed, upon the news of the great ſucceſs his Party had that he had ſent before, he deferr'd not to Embark his whole Army, and, with a very proſperous Wind, arriv'd at *Dublin* within two or three days after the Marquis of *Ormond* had retired from thence; where he was receiv'd with wonderful Acclamation; which did not retard him from purſuing his active reſolutions, to improve thoſe advantages had already befallen him. And the Marquis of *Ormond* was no ſooner advertiſed of his arrival, than he concluded to change his former reſolution, and to draw his Army to a greater diſtance, till thoſe Parties which were marching towards him from the ſeveral Quarters of the Kingdom, might come up to him; and in the mean while to put *Tredagh* into ſo good a poſture, as might entertain the Enemy, till he might be able to relieve them. And ſo he put into that place, which was looked upon, beſides the ſtrength of the Situation, to be in a good degree fortified, the flower of his Army, both of Soldiers and Officers, moſt of them *Engliſh*, to the number of three thouſand Foot, and two or three good Troops of Horſe, provided with all things; and committed the charge and command thereof to Sr *Arthur Aſton*, who had been often mention'd before, and was an Officer of great name and experience, and who at that time made little doubt of defending it againſt all the power of *Cromwell*, for at leaſt a Month's time. And the Marquis of *Ormond* made leſs doubt, in much leſs time, to relieve and ſuccour it with his Army; and ſo retired to thoſe parts where he had appointed a Rendezvous for his new Levies.

Cromwell *arrives at* Dublin.

This News coming to St *Germain*'s, broke all their Meaſures, at leaſt as to the Expedition: the reſolution continued for *Ireland*; but it was thought fit that they ſhould expect another account from thence, before the King begun his Journey; nor did it ſeem counſellable that his Majeſty ſhould

This News delays the King's Voyage into Ireland.

venture at Sea whilſt the Parliament Fleet commanded the Ocean, and were then about the Coaſt of *Ireland*; but that he ſhould expect the Autumn, when the Seaſon of the year would call home, or diſperſe the Ships. But where to ſtay ſo long was the Queſtion; for it was now the Month of *Auguſt*, and as the King had receiv'd no kind of civility from *France*, ſince his laſt coming, ſo it was notorious enough that his abſence was impatiently deſired by that Court; and the Queen, who found her ſelf diſappointed of that Dominion which ſhe had expected, reſolv'd to merit from the Cardinal by freeing him from a Gueſt that was ſo unwelcome to them, though he had not been in any degree chargeable to them; and ſo was not at all ſollicitous for his longer ſtay. So his Majeſty conſider'd how he ſhould make his departure; and, upon looking round, he reſolv'd, that he would make his Journey through *Normandy*, and Embark himſelf for his Iſland of *Jerſey*; which ſtill continued under his obedience, and under the Government of S^r^ *George Carteret*; who had in truth the power over the place, though he was but the Lieutenant of the Lord *Jermyn*; who, in thoſe ſtreights the King was in, and the great plenty he himſelf enjoyed, was wonderfully jealous that the King's being there would leſſen ſome of the profit, which he challenged from thence; and therefore, when it was found, in order to the King's Support, whilſt he ſhould ſtay there, neceſſary to ſell ſome of the King's Demeſnes in that Iſland, the yearly rent whereof uſed to be receiv'd by that Lord towards the diſcharge of the Garriſons there, he inſiſted, with all poſſible importunity, "that ſome of the Money, "which ſhould be raiſed upon that Sale, ſhould be paid to "Him, becauſe his receipt, for the time to come, would not "remain ſo great as it had been formerly: and though this demand appear'd ſo unjuſt, and unreaſonable, that the Council could not admit it, yet he did prevail with the King in private, to give him ſuch a Note under his hand, as enabled him to receive a good Sum of Money, after the return of his Majeſty into *England*, upon that conſideration. This Reſolution being taken for *Jerſey*, the King ſent to the Prince of *Orange*, "that he would cauſe two Ships of War to ride in "the rode before S^t^ *Maloes* (which they might do without notice) "and that he might have a Warrant remain in his "hands, by which the Ships might attend his Majeſty, when "he ſhould require them; which they might do in very few hours; and in theſe he meant to Tranſport himſelf, aſſoon as it ſhould be ſeaſonable, into *Ireland*. Theſe Ships did wait his pleaſure there accordingly.

FRANCE had too good an excuſe at this time for not giving

The Affairs of France *whilſt the King was at* Paris.

giving the King any aſſiſtance in Money, which he might expect, and did abundantly want, by the ill condition their own Affairs were in. Though the Sedition which had been raiſed in *Paris* the laſt Winter, was at preſent ſo much appeaſed by the Courage, and Conduct of the Prince of *Condè* (who brought the Army, which he commanded in *Flanders*, with ſo great Expedition before *Paris*, that the City yielded to reaſon) ſo that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, the Queen his Mother, and the whole Court, were at this preſent there; yet the wound was far from being cloſed up. The Town continu'd ſtill in ill humour; more of the great Men adher'd to them than had done before; the Animoſities againſt the Cardinal increaſed, and, which made thoſe Animoſities the more terrible, the Prince of *Condè*, who ſurely had merited very much, either unſatisfied, or not to be ſatisfied, broke his Friendſhip with the Cardinal, and ſpoke with much bitterneſs againſt him: So that the Court was far from being in that Tranquillity, as to concern it ſelf much for the King our Maſter, if it had been otherwiſe well inclined to it.

*The King leaves S*t Germain's; *and goes towards* Jerſey.

ALL things ſtanding thus, about the middle of *September*, the King left S^t^ *Germain's*, and begun his Journey towards *Jerſey*; and the Queen, the next day, remov'd from thence to *Paris* to the *Louvre* The two Embaſſadours for *Spain* waited upon her Majeſty thither, having nothing now to do but to prepare themſelves for their Journey to *Spain*, where they longed to be, and whither they had ſent for a Paſs to meet them at S^t^ *Sebaſtian's*, and that they might have a Houſe provided for them at *Madrid*, againſt the time they ſhould come thither: both which they recommended to an *Engliſh* Gentleman, who liv'd there, to ſollicite, and advertiſe them in their Journey of the temper of that Court.

THEY thought it convenient, ſince they were to deſire a Paſs to go from *Paris* into *Spain*, that they ſhould wait upon the Queen Mother of *France*, and the Cardinal; and likewiſe upon the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Prince of *Condè*; who were then in a Cabal againſt the Court. The Prince of *Condè* ſpoke ſo publickly, and ſo warmly againſt the Cardinal, that moſt People thought the Cardinal undone; and he himſelf apprehended ſome attempt upon his Perſon; and therefore had not in many days gone out of his Houſe, and admitted few to come to him, and had a ſtrong Guard in every Room; ſo that his fear was not diſſembled.

IN this ſo general diſorder, the Embaſſadours declined any formal Audiences; for which their Equipage was not ſuitable: ſo the Lord *Cottington* went privately to the Queen Regent, who receiv'd him graciouſly, and deſired him "to "recommend her very kindly to her Brother the King of "*Spain*, without enlarging upon any thing elſe. From Her he went to the Duke of *Orleans*, whom he found in more diſorder; and when the Embaſſadour told him, "he came to "know whether he had any Service to command him into "*Spain*, the Duke, who ſcarce ſtood ſtill whilſt he was ſpeaking, anſwer'd aloud, "that he had nothing to do with *Spain*; and ſo went haſtily into another Room; and the Lord *Cottington* then withdrew. They intended both to have gone together to the Prince of *Condè*, and to the Cardinal. But when they ſent to the Prince, he wiſely, but with great Civility, ſent them word, "that they could not be ignorant of "the diſorder that Court was in, and of the jealouſies which "were of him; and therefore deſired them "to excuſe him, "that he did not ſee them.

THE Cardinal appointed them a time; and accordingly they met, and conferr'd together about half an hour, the Lord *Cottington* ſpeaking *Spaniſh*, and the Cardinal and He conferring wholely in that Language. The Cardinal acknowledg'd the apprehenſion he was in, in his looks; and took occaſion in his diſcourſe to mention "the unjuſt diſpleaſure, "which Monſieur *le Prince* had conceiv'd againſt him. He ſeem'd earneſtly to deſire a Peace between the two Crowns; and ſaid, "that he would give a pound of his Blood to ob- "tain it; and deſir'd the Embaſſadours "to tell *Don Lewis* "*de Haro* from him, that he would with all his heart meet "him upon the Frontiers; and that he was confident, if "they two were together but three hours, they ſhould com- "poſe all differences: which Meſſage he afterwards diſavow'd, when *Don Lewis* accepted the motion, and was willing to have met him. When they took their leave of him, he brought them to the top of the Stairs in diſorder enough, his Guards being very circumſpect, and ſuffering no ſtranger to approach any of the Rooms.

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THEY begun their Journey from *Paris* upon *Michaelmas* day, and continu'd it, without reſting one day, till they came to *Bourdeaux*; which was then in Rebellion againſt the King. The City and the Parliament had not only ſent ſeveral complaints, and bitter invectives againſt the Duke of *Eſpernon*, their Governour, for his Acts of Tyranny in his Government, but had preſum'd, in order to make his Perſon the more ungracious, to aſperſe his life and manners with thoſe reproaches which they believ'd would moſt reflect upon the Court. And the truth is, their greateſt Quarrel againſt him was, that he was a faſt Friend to the Cardinal, and would not be divided from his Intereſt. They had driven the Duke out of the Town, and did not only deſire the King “that “he might no more be their Governour; but that his Ma“jeſty would give the Government to the Prince of *Condè*; which made their complaints the leſs conſider'd as juſt. And it was then one of the moſt avow'd exceptions that Prince had againſt the Cardinal, that he had not that Government upon the Petition of *Bourdeaux*, ſince he offer'd to reſign his of *Burgundy*, which was held to be of as much Value, to accommodate and repair the Duke of *Eſpernon*. At *Blay*, the Embaſſadours were viſited by the Marſhal of *Pleſſy Praſſin*, who had been ſent by the Court to treat with the Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, but could bring them to no reaſon, they poſitively inſiſting upon the remove of their old Governour, and conferring the Command upon the Prince. When they came to *Bourdeaux* they found the *Château Trompette*, which ſtill held for the King, ſhooting at the Town, the Town having inveſted it very cloſe, that no Succour could be put into them, the Duke of *Eſpernon* being at his Houſe at *Cadilliac*, from whence his Horſe every day infeſted the Citizens when they ſtirr'd out of the Town. Here the Embaſſadours were compell'd to ſtay one whole day, the diſorders upon the River, and in the Town, not ſuffering their Coaches and Baggage to follow them ſo ſoon as they ſhould have done. They were here viſited by ſome Counſellors, and Preſidents of the Parliament; who profeſſed duty to their King, but irreconcilable hatred to the Duke of *Eſpernon*; againſt whom they had publiſhed ſeveral Remonſtrances in Print, and dedicated them to the Prince of *Condè*. After a days reſt there, which was not unwelcome to them, they continu'd their Journey to *Bayonne*; and arriv'd, upon the twentieth day from their leaving *Paris*, at the *Taio*; where they took Boat, and in an hour or two arriv'd at *Girona*. The next day they went by the River to *Paſſage*, and when they came out of their Boats, which were row'd by Women, according to their Privilege there, they found Mules, ſent from St *Sebaſtian*'s to carry them thither. About half a Mile from the Town they were met by the Governour of *Guipuſcoa*, *Don Antonio de Cardinas*, an old Soldier, and a Knight of the Order, the *Corregidor* and all the Magiſtrates of St *Sebaſtian*'s, and the *Engliſh* Merchants which Inhabited there; and were Conducted by the Governour to one of the beſt Houſes in the Town, which was provided for their reception; where they no ſooner were, than the Governour, and the reſt of the Magiſtrates, took their leave of them.

THEY had not been half an hour in their Lodging, conferring with the *Engliſh* Merchants, about conveniences to proſecute their Journey, when the *Corregidor* came to them, and deſired to ſpeak with them in private, and after ſome compliment and apology, he ſhew'd them a Letter, which he had receiv'd from the Secretary of State; the contents whereof were, "that when the Embaſſadours of the Prince "of *Wales* ſhould arrive there, they ſhould be receiv'd with "all reſpect; but that he ſhould find ſome means to perſwade "them to ſtay and remain there, till he ſhould give the "King notice of it, and receive his farther pleaſure. And at the ſame time an *Engliſh* Merchant of the Town, who had told them before, that he had Letters from *Madrid* for them, and had gone home to fetch them, brought them a Pacquet from Sr *Benjamin Wright*; who was intruſted by them to ſollicite at *Madrid* for their Paſs, and for a Houſe to be prepared for them. In this Letter their Paſs was incloſed, under the ſame Style, as Embaſſadours from the Prince of *Wales*; which he had obſerv'd upon the place, and deſir'd to have it mended, but could procure no alteration, nor could he obtain any Order for the providing a Houſe for them; but was told, "that it ſhould be done time enough. This was an unexpected mortification to them; but they ſeem'd not to be troubled at it, as if they had intended to ſtay there a Month, to refreſh themſelves after their long Journey, and in expectation of other Letters from the King their Maſter. The *Corregidor* offer'd to ſend away an Expreſs the ſame Night, which they accepted of; and writ to *Don Lewis de Haro*, "that the King their Maſter had ſent them his Embaſſadours "to his Catholick Majeſty, upon Affairs of the higheſt Im-"portance: that they were come ſo far on their way, but "had, to their great wonder, met there with a ſignification "of that King's pleaſure, that they ſhould ſtay and remain "there, till they ſhould receive his Majeſty's farther Orders; "which troubled them not ſo much, as to find themſelves "ſtyled the Embaſſadours of the Prince of *Wales*, which they "thought very ſtrange, after his Catholick Majeſty had ſent "an Embaſſadour to the King their Maſter before they left "him: they deſired therefore to know, whether their Per-"ſons were unacceptable to his Catholick Majeſty, and if "that were the Caſe, they would immediately return to their "Maſter; otherwiſe, if his Majeſty were content to receive "them, they deſir'd they might be treated in that manner as "was due to the Honour and Dignity of the King their Ma-"ſter. And they writ to Sr *Benjamin Wright*, to attend "*Don Lewis*, and if he found that they were expected at "*Madrid*, and that they reform'd the Errors they had com-"mitted, he ſhould then uſe thoſe importunities, which were

" neceſſary for the providing a Houſe for them againſt they " ſhould come.

Though the Court was then full of buſineſs, being in daily expectation of their new Queen; who was landed, and at that time within few days Journey of *Madrid*; yet the very next day after the Letter was deliver'd to *Don Lewis de Haro*, he return'd an Anſwer full of civility, and imputed the error that was committed, to the negligence, or ignorance of the Secretary; and ſent them new Paſſes in the proper Style; and aſſured them, " that they ſhould find a very " good welcome from his Majeſty. And Sr *Benjamin Wright* ſent them word, " that he had receiv'd the Warrant for the " providing the Houſe; and the officer, to whom it was di- " rected, had called upon him to view two or three Houſes; " and that *Don Lewis* told him, that aſſoon as he had found " a Houſe that pleaſed him, Orders ſhould be given to the " King's Officers of the Wardrobe to furniſh it; and then " when the Embaſſadours came, there ſhould be one of the " King's Coaches to attend them whilſt they ſtaid. Hereupon they made haſt in their Journey, with ſome ſatisfaction and confidence that they ſhould find a Court not ſo hard to treat with, that could begin to receive them with ſo barefaced and form'd an Affront, and then ſo eaſily recede from it with weak Apologies. And it was plain enough, that they heartily wiſh'd that they had not come; and imagin'd that this might put them to return again, and then were aſhamed of their own Expedient, and being preſſed, choſe rather to decline than avow it: So unnatural a thing it is for that Court to ſtoop to any ugly Action, without doing it ſo ungraciouſly, as to confeſs it in their own Countenance, and quickly receding from it.

Their Paſſes are ſent to them.

It was about the middle of *November* when they left St *Sebaſtian*'s, the Weather yet continuing fair; and a Gentleman of Quality of the Country was appointed to accompany them out of the juriſdiction of *Guipuſcoa*, which was to the City of *Victoria*; and from thence they enter'd into *Caſtile*. When they came to *Alcavendas*, within three Leagues of *Madrid*, they ſent to Sr *Benjamin Wright* to know what Houſe was provided for them: he came to them, and told them, " all things were in the ſame ſtate they were when he writ " to them to St *Sebaſtian*'s; that though *Don Lewis* gave him " very good words, and ſeem'd much troubled and angry " with the Officers that the Houſe was not ready, and the " Officers excuſed themſelves upon the jollities the Town " was in during the *Fieſtas*, which were held every day for " the Queen's arrival, that no body could attend any particu-

“lar affair, yet it was evident there was not that care take
“from the Court that there ought to have been, and tha
“*Don Alonzo de Cardinas* from *England* had done the Em
“baſſadours all the ill offices poſſible, as if their good recep
“tion in *Spain* would incenſe the Parliament, and make ther
“more propitious to *France*, which valued it ſelf upon havin
“driven all the Royal Family from thence.

Upon this new Mortification, they writ again from thenc
to *Don Lewis*, to deſire “that they might not be put to ſta
“there for want of a Houſe, and ſo be expoſed to contemp
Nor were they accommodated in that place in any degre
He always Anſwer'd their Letters with great punctualit
and with courteſy enough, as if all things ſhould be read
by the next day. The *Engliſh* Merchants, who reſided
Madrid, came every day to viſit them, but ſtill brought the
word, that there was no appearance of any proviſion ma
to receive them; ſo that, after a weeks ſtay in that litt
Town, and ill accommodation, they accepted the civil off
and invitation, which Sr *Benjamin Wright* made them, of r
poſing themſelves *incognito* in his Houſe; which would on
receive their Perſons with a *Valet de Chambre* for each; ar
the reſt of their family was quarter'd in the next adjace
Houſes for the reception of Strangers; ſo they went p
vately in the Evening into *Madrid* in Sr *Benjamin Wrigh*
Coach, and came to his Houſe: and if, by His generoſit
they had not been thus accommodated, they muſt have be
expoſed to reproach and infamy, by the very little reſpe
they receiv'd from the Court. This Sr *Benjamin Wright* w
a Gentleman of a good Family in *Eſſex*; and, being a young
Brother, had been bred a Merchant in *Madrid*; where
had great buſineſs, and great reputation; and, having ma
ried a Wife of the Family of *Toledo*, was become a perf
Spaniard, not only in the Language, but in the generous p
of their Nature and Cuſtoms.

They go into Madrid incognito; *and lodge at firſt at Sr* Benjamin Wright's *Houſe.*

The Court well enough knew of their Arrival, but to
no notice of it. The Lord *Cottington* therefore ſent to D
Lewis, to deſire that he might have a private Audience
him *incognito*; which he preſently conſented to, and appoi
ed, the next Morning, to meet in the King's Garden; whi
was at ſuch a diſtance from the Court, that it was not
the view of it. There they met at the hour: *Don Le*
was a Man of little ceremony, and uſed no flouriſhes in
diſcourſes, which made moſt Men believe that he ſaid
things from his heart; and he ſeem'd to ſpeak ſo cordial
that the Lord *Cottington*, who was not eaſy to be impo
upon, did think that they ſhould have a Houſe very ſpeedi

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and that he had a good inclination to favour them in what they came about. He ſpoke, with more commotion than was natural to him, in the buſineſs of the Murther of the King; excuſed all the omiſſions towards the Embaſſadours; “which “ſhould be repair'd out of hand, after the few days, which “yet remain'd to be ſpent in *Fieſtas* for the Queen; during “which time, he ſaid, no Officers would obey any Orders that “diverted them from the ſight of the Triumphs; and wiſh'd “that the Embaſſadours would ſee the Maſquerade that After-“noon, and the *Toros* the Day following.

THE Lord *Cottington* return'd home very well ſatisfied; and had not been half an hour in the Houſe, when a Gentleman came from *Don Lewis* to invite the Embaſſadours to ſee thoſe Exerciſes, which were mention'd before; and ſent them word that there ſhould be places provided for them. The Chancellor went that Afternoon to the place aſſign'd where he ſaw the Maſquerade, and the running of the Courſe, and, afterwards, the *Toros*.

AT the running of the Courſe, the King and *Don Lewis* run ſeveral Courſes, in all which *Don Lewis* was too good a Courtier to win any prize, though he always loſt it by very little. The appearance of the People was very great, and the Ladies in all the Windows made a very rich ſhew, otherwiſe the ſhew it ſelf had nothing wonderful. Here there happen'd to be ſome ſuddain ſharp words between the *Admirante* of *Caſtile*, a haughty young Man, and the Marquis *de Liche*, the eldeſt Son of *Don Lewis de Haro*; the which being taken notice of, they were both diſmiſſed the Squadrons wherein they were, and committed to their Chambers.

AT the Entertainment of the *Toros* there was another accident, the mention whereof is not unfit to ſhew the diſcipline, and ſeverity of that Nation in the obſervation of order. It was remember'd, that at the Maſquerade, the *Admirante* and the Marquis of *Liche* were ſent to their Chambers: and afterwards, the matter being examin'd, they were both commanded to leave the Town, and retire each to a Houſe of his own, that was within three or four Leagues of the Town. the Marquis of *Liche* was known to have gone the next day, and no body doubted the ſame of the *Admirante*, thoſe orders being never diſputed or diſobey'd. The King as he was going to the *Toros*, either himſelf diſcern'd at another Balcony, or ſome body elſe advertiſed him of it, that the Ducheſs, who was Wife to the *Admirante*, was there; and ſaid, “he knew that Lady was a Woman of more “Honour than to come out of her Houſe, and be preſent at

“ the *Fieſta*, whilſt her Husband was under reſtraint, and i
“ his Majeſty's deſpleaſure; and therefore concluded that he
Husband was likewiſe there; and thereupon ſent an *Alguazi*
to that Room, with command to examine carefully with hi
Eye, whether the *Admirante* was there; for there appear'
none but Women. The *Admirante* being a young raſ
Man, much in the King's favour, and a Gentleman of hi
Bed-Chamber, thought he might undiſcern'd ſee the Triump
of that day; and therefore cauſed himſelf to be dreſs'd i
the habit of a Lady, which his age would well bear, an
forced his Wife to go with him; who exceedingly reſiſte
his Commands, well knowing to what reproach ſhe expoſe
her own honour, though ſhe had no fear of his being diſcover'd.
The *Alguazil* brought the King word, that he wa
very ſure that the *Admirante* was there, in the habit of
Woman, and ſat next his Wife among many other Ladie
Whereupon the King ſent the Officer to apprehend him i
the habit he was in, and to carry him to the Officer's ow
Houſe. And aſſoon as the King return'd to the Palace, the
was an Order that the *Alguazil* ſhould the next Mornin
carry the *Admirante* to *Valladolid*, four days Journey fro
Madrid, to a Houſe of his own there; where he was confin'
not to go out of the limits of that City; and under this reſtraint
remain'd for the ſpace of full three years: So penal
thing it is amongſt that People, for any Man, of how gre
Quality ſoever (there was not in *Spain* a Man of greater tha
the *Admirante* of *Caſtile*) to diſobey, or elude the judgeme
of the King.

The King remains ſeveral months in Jerſey.

It may be thought impertinent to the work in hand,
make a digreſſion upon this Embaſſy, and to enlarge upo
many circumſtances which occurr'd in it, of the formali
and conſtitution of that Court, of the nature and humour
that People, which may ſeem forreign to the affairs of *England*.
But ſince the King, after his leaving *Paris*, remain
in *Jerſey* for many Months, waiting ſuch a revolution
might adminiſter an opportunity and occaſion to quit that r
tirement, in all which time there was no Action, or Cou
ſel to be mention'd, and this being the firſt, and the on
Embaſſy, in which his Majeſty's Perſon was repreſented, u
til his bleſſed return into *England* (for though ſome oth
Perſons were afterwards ſent to other Princes, with Co
miſſions to perform that function, if they found Encourag
ment ſo to do, yet none aſſum'd that Character, nor we
treated as ſuch in any Court in Chriſtendom, *Spain* only e
cepted) it may therefore be reaſonably thought not impro
in this Hiſtory, to give ſuch a relation of this Negotiati

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that it may appear what ſenſe ſo great a Court as that of *Spain* had of thoſe Revolutions in *England*, and of the deplorable Condition to which this young innocent Prince was reduced, when it was fully preſſed to them in the moſt efficacious terms poſſible; and every circumſtance of their Reception, and Treatment, may ſerve to illuſtrate thoſe particuars; and therefore we ſhall proceed farther in the relation of them.

An account of the Embaſſadour's Audience.

BEFORE their Audience, *Don Lewis de Haro* ſent them word of the Impriſonment of the Prince of *Condè*, the Prince of *Conty*, and the Duke of *Longueville*, and that Marſhal *Turin* had made his Eſcape into *Flanders*; the news whereof gave the *Spaniſh* Court much trouble; for they had promiſed themſelves a better Harveſt from that Seed, which they had carefully and induſtriouſly Sown, and that thereby the Cardinal, whom they perfectly hated, would have been totally ſuppreſſed, and all his power entirely taken from him; which, they concluded, would forthwith produce a Peace, which was not leſs deſir'd in *France* than in *Spain*; or that thoſe Princes, nd all their Dependents, would have appear'd in Armes in hat Kingdom; by which the *Spaniards* ſhould be able to recover much of what they had loſt in *Flanders*; the hopes of either of which appear'd now blaſted by this unexpected revival of the Cardinal's power.

UPON the day aſſign'd for the Audience, it being reſolv'd that when they had ended with the King, they ſhould likewiſe have one of the Queen, *Don Lewis dè Haro* ſent Horſes to their Lodging, for the accommodation of the Embaſſadours, and their Servants: it being the faſhion of that Court, that the Embaſſadours ride to their firſt Audience. And ſo they rode, being attended by all their own Servants, nd all the *Engliſh* Merchants who liv'd in the Town, together with many *Iriſh* Officers who were in the Service of his Catholick Majeſty, all on Horſe-back; ſo that their Cavalcade appear'd very fair, all the Coaches of other Embaſſadours likewiſe following them. In this manner they came to the Court about ten of the Clock in the Morning, being Conducted by an Officer, who had been ſent to their Lodging, nd rode with them to the Court.

THROUGH ſeveral Rooms, where there was only one Officer, who attended to open and ſhut the doors, they came o the Room next that where his Majeſty was; where, after little ſtay, whilſt their Conductor went in and out, they found the King ſtanding upright, with his back againſt the Wall, and the Grandees at a diſtance, in the ſame poſture, gainſt the Wall. When they had made their ſeveral reſpects, and came to the King, he lightly mov'd his Hat, and bid ther cover: The Lord *Cottington* ſpoke only general things, “c “the confidence the King had in his Majeſty's kindneſs, an “that He believ'd his condition ſuch, as that all the Kings c “the World were concern'd to vindicate the wrong He ſuſtain'd: That this was the firſt Embaſſay he had ſent, relyin “more upon the Honour of his Majeſty's Nature and Generoſity, than upon any other Prince; with diſcourſes of the ſam nature: Then they preſented their Credentials.

THE King expreſſed a very tender Senſe of our King's condition, and acknowledged “that it concern'd all Kings t “joyn together for the puniſhment of ſuch an Impious Rebellion and Parricide; and if his own Affairs would perm “it, he would be the firſt that would undertake it; but tha “they could not but know how full his Hands were; an “whilſt he had ſo powerful an Adverſary to contend with “he could hardly defend himſelf; but that when there ſhoul “be a Peace with *France* (which he deſired) “the King, hi “*Sobrino* (for ſo he ſtill call'd the King, his Nephew) “ſhoul “find all he could expect from him; in the mean time h “would be ready to do all that was in his power towards hi “aſſiſtance and relief. After the formal part was over, th King asked many Queſtions, moſt with reference to his Siſte the Queen of *France*; and diſcourſed very intelligently c every thing; ſo that his defects proceeded only from the lazineſs of his mind, not from any want of underſtanding; an he ſeem'd then, when he was about eight and forty years c Age, to have great vigour of Body, having a clear rudd Complection; yet he had been accuſtom'd to Fevers fron his Debauches with Women, by which he was muc waſted.

FROM the King they were Conducted to the Queen; wh uſed very few words, and ſpoke ſo low that ſhe could ſcarc be heard; ſhe ſtood, in the ſame manner the King did, againſ a Wall, and her Ladies on both ſides as the Grandees did the *Infanta* at a little diſtance from her, to whom likewiſ they made a Compliment from their Maſter. The Queen wa then about eighteen years of Age, not Tall, round Faced, an inclined to be fat. The *Infanta* was much Lower, as ſhe ough to be by her Age, but of a very lovely Complection, withou any help of Art, which every one elſe in the Room, even th Queen her ſelf, was beholding to: and ſhe was then the fulleſt of Spirit and Wit of any Lady in *Spain*, which ſhe ha not improv'd afterwards, when ſhe had more years upon her Their Audience ended, they return'd; and at laſt they had Houſe provided for them in the *Calle de Alcala*, belonging t

They have an Houſe aſſign'd them.

he Marquis of *Villa Magna*, to whom the King paid four hun-
red pounds Sterling by the year.

THE Council of State at this time conſiſted of *Don Lewis*
e Haro, the Duke *de Medina de los Torres*, Duke *de Mounte-*
ey, Marquis of *Caſtille Roderigo*, Marquis *de Vall-Periſo*, the
onde of *Caſtrilio*, and *Don Franciſco de Melo*; there were
o more reſiding in that Court then; the Duke *de Medina*
eli reſiding conſtantly at his Government of St *Lucar*, the
Marquis of *Leganez* being General againſt *Portugal*, and ſo
emaining at *Badajoz*, and coming ſeldom to *Madrid*, and the
Duke of *Arcos* ſtood confin'd to his Houſe, ſince the defe-
tion of *Naples* when it was under his Government; and the
Conde de Pignoranda was not yet come out of *Flanders*.

The Character of Don Lewis de Haro.

DON *Lewis* was as abſolute a Favourite in the Eyes of his
Maſter, had as entire a diſpoſal of all his Affections and Fa-
culties, as any Favourite of that Age: Nor was any thing
ranſacted at home, or abroad, but by his direction and de-
ermination: And yet of all the Favourites of that, or any
other time, no Man ever did ſo little alone, or ſeem'd leſs
o enjoy the delight and empire of a Favourite. In the moſt
ordinary occurrences, which, for the difficulty, required lit-
le Deliberation, and in the nature of them required Expedi-
ion, he would give no Order without formal Conſultation
with the reſt of the Council; which hinder'd diſpatch, and
made his Parts the more ſuſpected. He was Son of the
Marquis of *Carpio*, who had Married the Siſter of *Olivarez*,
and had been put about the Perſon of the King, being about
he ſame Age with his Majeſty, and had ſo grown up in his
Affection, and was not thought to have been diſpleaſed at
he diſgrace of his Uncle, but rather to have contributed to
t, though he did not ſucceed in the place of Favourite in
many years, nor ſeem'd to be concern'd in any buſineſs till
fter the death of the then Queen, and was rather drawn in-
o it by the violence of the King's Affection, who had a
great kindneſs for his Perſon, than by the Ambition of his
own Nature, or any delight in buſineſs. His Education had
not fitted him for it, and his natural Parts were not ſharp,
yet his Induſtry was great, and the more commendable, be-
cauſe his Nature had ſome repugnancy to it, and his Expe-
rience had ſo fitted him for it, that he never ſpoke imperti-
nently, but diſcourſed reaſonably and weightily upon all Sub-
ects. He was of a Melancholick Complection; which, it
may be, was the reaſon that he did not truſt himſelf to him-
ſelf, which was his defect. He ſeem'd to be a very honeſt,
and well natur'd Man, and did very rarely manifeſt his power
in Acts of oppreſſion, or hard-heartedneſs; which made him

grateful to moſt particular Men, when he was hated enoug
by the generality. His Port and Grandeur was very muc
inferior to that of either of the *French* Cardinals; the la
of which was Favourite during his Adminiſtration. Nor di
he affect Wealth as They did, not leaving a Fortune behin
him much improv'd by his own induſtry: yet it cannot b
denied, that the Affairs of *Spain* declined more, in the tim
they were under his Government, than at any time before
and that leſs was done with the conſumption of ſo muc
Money, than might have been expected. But it muſt b
likewiſe conſider'd, that he enter'd upon that Adminiſtratio
in a very unhappy conjuncture, after the loſs of *Portuga*
and the defection in *Catalonia*, which made ſuch a rent i
that Crown, as would have required more than an ord
nary States-man to have repair'd, and make it flouriſh a
before.

Of the Conde *of* Pignoranda.

THE Embaſſadours had not been long at *Madrid*, whe
the *Conde* of *Pignoranda* return'd thither from his Negotiatio
in the Treaty of *Munſter*. He had been declar'd to be
the Council of State, after he had made that Peace wi
Holland, and was admitted to it aſſoon as he return'd. H
was *Conde* in the right of his Wife only; and before, bein
of a good Family, *Don Diego de Brachamonte*, and bred i
the ſtudy of the Law, was looked upon as a good Man
buſineſs, and ſo imploy'd in matters of greateſt Truſt. H
was indeed a Man of great Parts, and underſtood the Affai
of the World better than moſt in that Court. He was Prou
to the height of his Nation, and retain'd too much of t
Pedantry which he had brought with him from *Salamanc*
Aſſoon as he return'd, according to the method of that Cou
upon great and ſucceſsful Employments, the Preſidentſh
de los Ordines, an Office of great Reputation, becoming voi
it was the very next day conferr'd upon him. The Embaſſ
dours found no benefit by his Arrival, coming from *Bru*
ſels, which was throughly infected by *Don Alonzo*. T
truth is, *Don Alonzo*, who had no Affection for the Kin
upon the memory of ſome diſobligations when he firſt can
over into *England*, and liked well his Employment, and R
ſidence there, uſed all the endeavours imaginable to have t
King's Condition thought to be irrecoverable and deſperat
and that therefore all Civilities extended towards him we
caſt away, and would yield no fruit, and that the Commo
wealth was ſo eſtabliſhed, that it could never be ſhaken.
that *Spain* thought only how to make a firm Friendſhip ther
and to forget that there ever had been a King of *Englan*
in the confidence that there would be no more. And the

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The Embaſſadours private Audience and Demands.

fore when the Embaſſadours, after all Ceremonies were over, had a private Audience of the King, and deſir'd, “ that he “ would appoint Commiſſioners, with whom they might “ treat about the renewing the Alliance between the two “ Crowns, which had been provided for by the laſt Treaty “ to be renew'd within ſo many Months after the death of “ either King, and with whom they might likewiſe confer “ upon ſuch relief in Armes, and Money, as his Catholick “ Majeſty would think proper to ſend to their Maſter into “ *Ireland* (whither one of the Embaſſadours deſired to haſten his Journey aſſoon as might be ; and in that Memorial, which they then deliver'd to his Catholick Majeſty, they had deſired likewiſe “ that he would write to *Owen O Neile* “ to diſpoſe him to ſubmit to the King) they receiv'd ſhortly after an Anſwer, ſent to them by *Don Franciſco de Melo*, who told them, “ that the King had ſent him to them, to confer “ with them upon the ſubſtance of their laſt Memorial. He “ ſaid, the King did not think it neceſſary to appoint any “ Committee to renew the laſt Treaty of Peace ; which was “ ſtill in force, and might well be obſerv'd between the two “ Nations ; and that the renewing might be deferr'd till the “ times ſhould mend ; implying very little leſs than that when the King ſhould be in *England*, it would be a fit time to renew the Alliance. He ſaid, “ he was ready to receive “ any Propoſitions from them, wherein they might more “ particularly ſet down their deſires, if they were ready to depart ; and for writing to *Owen O Neile* (whom he called *Don Eugenio*) “ he had ſo misbehaved himſelf towards his “ Catholick Majeſty, by leaving his Service in *Flanders*, and “ tranſporting himſelf into *Ireland* without his Licence, that “ his Majeſty could not in Honour write to him ; but that “ he would take ſuch care, that he ſhould know it would be “ agreeable to his Majeſty's good liking, that he betook him- “ ſelf to the Service of the King of Great *Britain* without “ reſerve ; which he did believe would diſpoſe him to it : which Method the Embaſſadours conceiv'd was propoſed, becauſe they ſhould believe that the *Spaniard* had no hand in ſending him into that Kingdom, or in fomenting the Rebellion there ; whereas at the ſame time *Don Diego de la Torre* was with the *Iriſh* as Reſident or Envoy from *Spain*.

The Anſwer they receive.

THIS Anſwer was evidence enough to them, how little they were to expect from any avow'd Friendſhip of that Crown, though they ſtill thought they might be able to obtain ſome little favour in private, as Armes, and Ammunition, and a ſmall ſupply of Money for the King's Subſiſtence, that could hardly be taken notice of. And therefore the

Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was deſign'd by the King to attend him in *Ireland*, expected only to hear that he was arriv'd there, till when he could not preſent his Memorial ſo particularly as was demanded, nor prepare himſelf for his Voyage thither: and ſo they reſted for ſome time, without giving the Court any farther trouble by Audiences.

rince Ru-
ert *comes*
pon the coaſt
Spain.

Now whilſt they were in this impatient Expectation to hear from the King their Maſter, who yet remain'd at *Jerſey*, by which they might take their own reſolutions, Prince *Rupert* came upon the coaſt of *Spain* with the Fleet under his Command; which he had brought from *Ireland*; and had ſent a Letter on Shore to be ſent to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; which the Officer upon the place, ſent preſently to *Don Lewis de Haro*; who, in the ſame moment, ſent it to him with a very civil ſalutation. The Prince writ him word, "that he had brought away all the Fleet from "*Ireland*, and that he had receiv'd an Aſſurance from *Portu*"*gal*, that he ſhould be very welcome thither; upon which "he was reſolv'd, after he had attended ſome days to meet "with any *Engliſh* Ships that might be prize, to go for *Lis*"*bon*; and deſir'd him to procure Orders from the Court, "that he might find a good reception in all the Ports of "*Spain*, if his occaſions brought him thither. The Embaſſadours ſent immediately for an Audience to *Don Lewis*; who receiv'd them with open Arms, and another kind of Countenance than he had ever done before. A Fleet of the King of *England*, under the Command of a Prince of the Blood, upon the Coaſt of *Spain*, at a Seaſon of the year when they expected the return of their Galeons from the Indies, made a great conſternation amongſt the People, and the Court receiv'd the news of it with diſorder enough. All that the Embaſſadours asked, was granted without hæſitation; and Letters were diſpatched away that very Night (Copies whereof were ſent to the Embaſſadours) by ſeveral Expreſſes, to all the Governours of the Ports, and other Officers, for the good reception of Prince *Rupert*, or any Ships under his Command, if they came into any of the Ports; and for the furniſhing them with any Proviſions they ſhould ſtand in need of, with as many friendly Clauſes as could have been inſerted if the King had been in poſſeſſion of his whole Empire: ſo great an influence a little appearance of Power had upon their Spirits; and the Embaſſadours found they liv'd in another kind of Air than they had done, and receiv'd every day Viſits and Careſſes from the Court, and from thoſe in Authority.

is Letter
the Chan-
llor of the
xchequer.

But

The Prince with the gro of his Flee goes into th River of Lisbon.

But the Government of theſe benign Stars was very ſhort: Within few days after, they receiv'd News, "that the Prince, "with the groſs of his Fleet, was gone into the River of "*Lisbon*, and that a Squadron of four or five Ships, under "the Command of Captain *Allen*, being ſever'd from the "Prince by a Storm, was driven upon the Rocks at *Carta*-"*gena*; where the People of the Country had treated them "very rudely, and ſeiſed both upon the Ships, and Perſons of "the Men, and the Storm continuing had wrecked two or "three of their Veſſels in the Road, though the Guns and "all things in the Ships were ſaved. When the Embaſſadours demanded Juſtice, "and that reſtitution might be made "of all thoſe Goods, and Ordnance, and rigging of the Ships, "which not only the People, but the Governours, and Of-"ficers themſelves had ſeiſed upon, they were receiv'd with much more cloudy looks than before; nor was there the ſame Expedition in granting what they could not deny. Orders were at laſt given for the ſetting all the Men at liberty, and redelivery of the Goods, that thereby they might be enabled to mend their Veſſels and Tranſport their Men.

The chief Commander of the Parliament's Flee comes on the Spaniſh *Coaſt.*

His Letter to the King of Spain.

But as theſe Orders were but faintly given, ſo they were more ſlowly executed; and a ſtronger Fleet ſet out by the Parliament of *England* then appear'd upon the Coaſt, which came into the Road of St *Andero's*; from whence the Commander in chief writ a very inſolent Letter in *Engliſh* to the King of *Spain*; wherein he requir'd, "that none of thoſe "Ships under the Command of Prince *Rupert*, which had re-"volted from the Parliament, and were in Rebellion againſt "it, might be receiv'd into any of the Ports of *Spain*, and that "thoſe Ships which were in the Ports of *Cartagena*, might be "deliver'd to him, and the Ordnance and tackling of the other "which were wreck'd, might be carefully kept, and be de-"liver'd to ſuch Perſon as ſhould be authoriz'd to receive the "ſame by the Common-wealth of *England*; to whom they "belong'd: and concluded, "that as the Common-wealth of "*England* was willing to live in Amity, and good Intelligence "with his Catholick Majeſty, ſo they knew very well how "to do themſelves right for any injury, or diſcourteſy, which "they ſhould ſuſtain,

This imperious ſtyle made ſuch an impreſſion upon the Court, that all the importunity the Embaſſadours could uſe, could get nothing done at *Cartagena* in purſuance of the Orders they had ſent from the Court; but the poor Men were, after long attendance, forced to Tranſport themſelves as they were able; and two or three hundred of them march'd over Land, and were compell'd to Liſt themſelves in the *Spaniſh*

Service at Land; where they, for the moſt part, periſh'd; care being in the mean time taken, that the Parliament Fleet ſhould be receiv'd in all places, with all poſſible demonſtration of reſpect and kindneſs; and the King ſent a Ring of the value of fifteen hundred pounds to the Commander. In this Triumph he Sail'd from thence into *Portugal*, and dropped his Anchors in the River of *Liſbon*, at a very ſmall diſtance from the Fleet of Prince *Rupert*; and ſuffer'd not any Ship to enter into that River; but denounced War againſt that Kingdom, if that Fleet were not preſently deliver'd up into his hands.

He ſails into the River of Liſbon.

Requires Prince Rupert's *Fleet to be deliver'd up.*

THE *Portugueze* had receiv'd Prince *Rupert* very civilly, bought all the Prizes he had brought thither, gave him the free uſe of all their Ports, and furniſh'd him with all things he ſtood in need of. The Queen, and the Prince of *Portugal* then living, who was a young Man of great hope and courage, made great profeſſions of Friendſhip to our King, and of a deſire to aſſiſt him by all the ways and means which could be propoſed to them. But when their River was block'd up, their Ships taken, and the whole Kingdom upon the matter beſieged by the Parliament Fleet, of which they knew the *Spaniard* would quickly make uſe, the Council was aſtoniſh'd, and knew not what to do: their free Trade with *England* was not only their profit, but their reputation; and if they ſhould be depriv'd of that, they ſhould not be able to preſerve it any where elſe; which would put the whole Kingdom into a flame; and therefore they beſought their King, “that Prince *Rupert* might be deſir'd to leave the River, and to carry his Fleet from thence; which was not poſſible for him to do without fighting with the Enemy, to whom he was much inferior in ſtrength of Shipping, and number of Men, by the loſs he had ſuſtain'd at *Cartagena*.

THE Prince of *Portugal* had ſo great indignation at this overture made by the Council, that he declar'd “he would have all the Ships in the Port made ready, and would himſelf go on Board, and joyn with Prince *Rupert*, and fight the *Engliſh*, and drive them from thence: and he manifeſted a great deſire to do ſo; but the Council prevail'd with the Queen not to conſent to that. So in the end, after ſome Months ſtay there, and the Fleet being fully ſupplied with whatever it ſtood in need of, Prince *Rupert* found it neceſſary, upon the aſſurance the *Portugueze* gave him that the other Fleet ſhould not follow him till after two Tides, to ſet Sail and leave that Kingdom; which he did with ſo full a Gale, that the Parliament's Commander, after ſo long a ſtay, found it to no purpoſe to follow him; but took full vengeance upon *Portu-*

Prince Rupert *eſcapes out of the River of* Liſbon *with his Fleet.*

gal for reſcuing his Prey from him; untill they were compell'd, after great ſufferings, to purchaſe their peace from *Cromwell* upon very hard conditions.

The affairs Ireland at this time.

IT ſeem'd no good ſign to the Embaſſadours that Prince *Rupert* had left *Ireland*; where there were ſo many good Ports, and where the Fleet had been ſo neceſſary for the carrying on his Majeſty's Service. But, in a ſhort time after, they receiv'd advertiſement, "that the King had laid aſide his pur"poſe of going thither, and had taken new reſolutions. Before the Marquis of *Ormond* could draw his Army together, *Cromwell* had beſieg'd *Tredagh*: and though the Garriſon was ſo ſtrong in point of number, and that number of ſo choice Men, that they could wiſh for nothing more than that the Enemy would attempt to take them by ſtorm, the very next day after he came before the Town he gave a general Aſſault, and was beaten off with conſiderable loſs. But, after a day more, he Aſſaulted it again in two places, with ſo much courage, that he enter'd in both; and though the Governour and ſome of the chief Officers retir'd in diſorder into a Fort, where they hoped to have made conditions, a panick fear ſo poſſeſs'd the Soldiers, that they threw down their Armes upon a general offer of Quarter: ſo that the Enemy enter'd the Works without reſiſtance, and put every Man, Governour, Officer, and Soldier, to the Sword; and the whole Army being enter'd the Town, they executed all manner of cruelty, and put every Man that related to the Garriſon, and all the Citizens who were *Iriſh*, Man, Woman, and Child, to the Sword; and there being three or four Officers of Name, and of good Families, who had found ſome way, by the humanity of ſome Soldiers of the Enemy, to conceal themſelves for four or five days, being afterwards diſcover'd, they were butcher'd in cold blood.

Tredagh *taken by Storm.*

THIS inſupportable loſs took away all hopes from the Marquis of *Ormond* of drawing an Army ſtrong enough, and reſolute enough, together, to meet *Cromwell* in the field, during the Summer, which was drawing to an end; and obliged him to retire into thoſe Quarters, where, in reſpect of the ſtrong Paſſes, he might be ſecure, and from whence he might attempt upon the Enemy. *Cromwell* in the mean time took no reſt, but having made himſelf terrible by that exceſs of rigour and cruelty, march'd into *Munſter* againſt the Lord *Inchiquin*, and that Body of *Engliſh* which was under His Command. Here he defied Fortune again; and march'd ſo far out of the places devoted to him, and from whence he had any reaſonable hope to receive Supplies, that he muſt neceſſarily have been ſtarv'd, and could not have retir'd, all the Bridges over

Cromwel *marches in* Munſter.

is ſucceſs ere.

which he had paſs'd being broken down, if the City of *Cork*, which he could not have forced, had not been by the Garriſon baſely deliver'd up to him; thoſe Officers who had been moſt obliged to the Lord *Inchiquin*, and in whom he had moſt confidence, unworthily betraying him, and every day forſaking him: ſo that by the Example of *Cork*, and by the terrour of *Tredagh*, the whole Province of *Munſter*, in a very ſhort time fell into *Cromwell's* hands, except ſome few Towns and Sea-Ports, which, being Garriſon'd by the *Iriſh*, would, neither Officers nor Soldiers, receive or obey any Orders which were ſent from the Lord of *Ormond*. The King receiving information of this at *Jerſey*, gave over the thought very reaſonably of adventuring himſelf into *Ireland*; and diſmiſs'd the two Ships, which, by the direction of the Prince of *Orange*, had attended ſo long at St *Maloe's*, to have wafted him thither.

he King ives over he thought going into reland.

THOUGH Duke *Hamilton*, and the Earl of *Lautherdale*, and the other *Scotiſh* Lords, who remain'd in *Holland* when the King came into *France*, durſt not return into their own Country, yet they held Intelligence with their Party there. And though the Marquis of *Argyle* had the ſole power, yet he could not extinguiſh the impatient deſire of that whole Nation, to have their King come to them. And every day produced inſtances enough, which inform'd him, how the affections of the People were generally diſpoſed, and upon how ſlippery ground himſelf ſtood, if he were not ſupported by the King; and that the Government, he was then poſſeſs'd of, could not be laſting, except he had another Force to defend him, than that of his own Nation. And he durſt not receive any from *Cromwell*, who would willingly have aſſiſted him, for fear of being entirely deſerted by all his Friends, who had been ſtill firm to him. Hereupon he thought of drawing the King into *Scotland*, and keeping the *Hamiltonian* Faction from entring with him, by the ſentence that was already againſt them, and to oblige the King to ſubmit to the Covenant, and all thoſe other obligations which were at that time eſtabliſh'd; and if his Majeſty would put himſelf into his hands upon thoſe conditions, he ſhould be ſure to keep the power in himſelf under the King's name, and might reaſonably hope that *Cromwell*, who made no pretence to *Scotland*, might be well enough pleaſed that his Majeſty might remain there under His Government, and Aſſurance, that he ſhould not give *England* or *Ireland* any diſturbance.

rgyle *deſigns to inite the ing into* cotland:

*rovides, hat a Meſſage be ſent o his Maje*ſ*ty to* Jerſey *pon the old onditions,*

UPON this preſumption, he wiſh'd the Council of *Scotland*, and that Committee of the Parliament in whom the Authority was veſted, to ſend again to the King (who, they thought, by this time, might be weary of *Jerſey*) to invite him to come to them upon the old conditions; and by gratifying them in this particular, which all the People did ſo paſſionately deſire, he renew'd all the ſolemn obligations they had been before bound in, never to admit the King to come amongſt them, but upon his firſt ſubmitting to, and performing all thoſe conditions. All things being thus ſettled, and agreed, they ſent a Gentleman with Letters into *Jerſey*, to invite his Majeſty again to come into his Kingdom of *Scotland*, not without a rude inſinuation that it was the laſt invitation he ſhould receive. The *Scotiſh* Lords, who are mention'd before to be then in *Holland*, were glad of this advance; and believ'd that if the King were there, they ſhould eaſily find the way home again. And therefore they prevail'd with the Prince of *Orange*, to write very earneſtly to the King, and to recommend it to the Queen; and themſelves made great inſtance to the Queen, with whom they had much credit, "that the King would not loſe this opportunity to im-"prove his condition. No body preſum'd to adviſe him to ſubmit to All that was propos'd; and yet it was evident, that if he did not ſubmit to All, he could have the benefit of none; but "that he ſhould make ſuch an Anſwer as "might engage the *Scots* in a Treaty, for the King's better "information, and ſatisfaction in ſome particulars: which "being done, he ſhould imply a purpoſe to Tranſport his "Perſon thither.

THE Spring was now coming on, and though *Jerſey* was a convenient place to retire to, in order to conſider what was next to be done, yet it was not a place to reſide in, nor would be longer ſafe, than whilſt the Parliament had ſo much elſe to do, that it could not ſpare wherewithal to reduce it. The deſign for *Ireland* was at an end, and the deſpair of being welcome in any other place, compell'd the King to think better of *Scotland*, and ſo, according to the advice he had receiv'd, he return'd an Anſwer to the Meſſage from *Scotland*, "that "there were many particulars contain'd in the Propoſitions "which he did not underſtand, and which it was neceſſary "for him to be adviſed in; and in order thereunto, and that "he might be well inform'd and inſtructed in what ſo near-"ly concern'd him, he reſolv'd, by ſuch a time, which was "ſet down, to find himſelf in *Holland*; where he deſir'd to "meet ſuch Perſons as his Kingdom of *Scotland* would ſend "to him, and to confer, and treat, and agree with thoſe upon "all things that might give his Subjects of that Kingdom ſa-"tisfaction; which his Majeſty did very much deſire to "do.

The King' Anſwer, "that he "would "have a "Treaty "with the "in Hol-"land.

THE Queen had ſo good an opinion of many of the *Scotiſh* Lords, and ſo ill a one of many of the *Engliſh* who were about the King (in truth, ſhe had ſo entire a deſpair of all other ways) that ſhe was very deſirous that the overtures from *Scotland* ſhould be hearken'd to, and embraced: beſides that ſhe found her Authority was not ſo great with the King, as ſhe expected, ſhe ſaw no poſſibility of their being long together: She knew well that the Court of *France*, that grew every day into a cloſer correſpondence with *Cromwell*, would not endure that the King ſhould make his Reſidence in any part of that Kingdom, and ſo ſhorten'd the Aſſignations which they had made for her own ſupport, that ſhe was at no eaſe, and begun to think of diſſolving her own Family, and of her own retiring into a Monaſtery; which from that time ſhe practiſed by degrees: and, no doubt, that conſideration which made moſt impreſſion upon the King, as it had done upon his Father, and terrified him moſt from complying with the *Scots* demand, which was the alteration it would make in Religion, and the Government of the Church, ſeem'd not to Her of moment enough to reject the other conveniencies; nor did ſhe prefer the order, and decency of the Church of *England*, before the ſordidneſs of the Kirk of *Scotland*, but thought it the beſt expedient to advance her own Religion, that the latter ſhould triumph over the former. She therefore writ earneſtly to the King her Son, "that he would entertain this motion from *Scotland*, as his only refuge; and "that he would invite Commiſſioners to meet him in *Holland*, "in ſuch a place as the Prince of *Orange* ſhould adviſe; and deſir'd that, "in his paſſage thither, he would appoint ſome "place where her Majeſty would meet him; that they might "ſpend ſome days together in conſultation upon what might "concern them joyntly. In all which his Majeſty complying, the City of *Beauvais* in *Picardy* was appointed for the interview; where both their Majeſties met, and converſed together three or four days; and then the Queen return'd to *Paris*, and the King paſs'd through *Flanders* to *Breda*; which the Prince of *Orange* thought to be the fitteſt place for the Treaty, the States having no mind that the King ſhould come any more to the *Hague*.

The Queen adviſes the King to agree with the Scots upon their terms.

Their Majeſties meet at Beauvais. *The King goes to* Breda.

The Scotiſh *Commiſſioners come to* Breda, *and the terms they bring.*

THE *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners came to *Breda* with the very ſame Propoſitions which had been formerly ſent, and without the leaſt mitigation, and as poſitive an exception to Perſons; ſo that if the King ſhould incline to go thither, he muſt go without any one Chaplain of his own: there were Miniſters ſent from *Scotland* to attend, and to inſtruct him. His Majeſty muſt not carry with him any one Counſellor, nor any

Perſo

Perſon who had ever ſerv'd his Father in the War againſt the Parliament, without taking the Covenant. And, that no body might have cauſe to complain, if they did go thither, that they were worſe treated than they had reaſon to expect, the King himſelf, and all who ſhould attend upon him, were firſt to ſign the Covenant before they ſhould be admitted to enter into the Kingdom. Very fair warning indeed: nor could any Man juſtly except againſt any thing that was afterwards done to him.

HERE was no great Argument for conſultation: no Man had ſo ill an underſtanding, as not to diſcern the violence that was offer'd to Honour, Juſtice, and Conſcience; yet whoever objected againſt what was propoſed, upon any of thoſe conſiderations, was look'd upon as a Party, becauſe he himſelf could not be ſuffer'd to attend the King. It was thought to be of great Weight, that they who diſſwaded the King from going into *Scotland*, upon thoſe rude and barbarous terms, could not propoſe any thing elſe for him to do, nor any place where he might ſecurely repoſe himſelf, with any hope of ſubſiſtence: a very ſad State for a Prince to be reduced to, and which made it manifeſt enough, that the Kings of the Earth are not ſuch a Body as is ſenſible of the Indignity, and Outrage, that is offer'd to any Member of it. The *Scotiſh Hamiltonian* Lords were thought to be the moſt competent Counſellors, ſince They, by going, were to be expoſed to great rigour, and to undergo the ſevereſt part of all Cenſures. They could not ſit in the Parliament, nor in the Council, and knew well that they ſhould not be ſuffer'd to be about the Perſon of the King: yet all theſe reſolv'd to wait upon him, and perſwaded him to believe, "that his "Majeſty's preſence would diſſipate thoſe Clouds; and that "a little time would produce many alterations, which could "not be preſently effected. For his Majeſty's ſigning the Covenant, "he ſhould tell the Commiſſioners, that he would "defer it till he came thither, that he might think better of "it; and that if then the Kirk ſhould preſs it upon him, he "would give them ſatisfaction. And they were confident, "that after he ſhould be there, he ſhould be no more importuned in it, but that even the Church-men themſelves "would contend to make themſelves gracious to him.

THIS kind of Argumentation wrought much with the Prince of *Orange*, but more with the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had waited upon the King from the time of his Adventure with the Earl of *Holland* (againſt whoſe Perſon there was no exception) and with *Wilmot*, and *Wentworth* (who reſolv'd to go with his Majeſty, and would ſubmit to any conditions, *The King reſolves for* Scotland.

which would be required of them) and with others abou the King, who could not digeſt the Covenant; yet the hope that it would not be required from them, and the many promiſes thoſe *Scotiſh* Lords made to them, who were like t grow into Authority again when they ſhould be once in thei native Air and upon their own Soil, prevailed with them t uſe all their Credit with the King to Embark himſelf, an try how propitious Fortune would be to him in *Scotland*. I the end, a faint hope in that, and a ſtrong deſpair of an other expedient, prevailed ſo far with his Majeſty, that h reſolv'd, upon what terms ſoever, to Embark himſelf, in *Holland*, upon a Fleet which the Prince of *Orange* provided fo him; and ſo with all the *Scotiſh*, and very few *Engliſh* Servants, to ſet Sail for *Scotland*.

Arguments of ſome Lords againſt the King's going to Scotland.

THERE were two very ſtrong Arguments, which mad deep impreſſion on thoſe Lords who very vehemently diſſwaded, and ever proteſted againſt his Majeſty's going fo *Scotland*, and which, as it often falls out in matters of th higheſt importance, they could not make uſe of to conver others, eſpecially in the place and company in which the were to urge them. The firſt, "that the Expedition of Duk "*Hamilton* the year before, with an Army as numerous, an "much better furniſh'd, and provided, than *Scotland* could i "many years be again enabled to ſend out, made it manifeſ "enough, how little that Nation, how united ſoever, coul "prevail againſt the force of *England*: The other, "that th "whole, and abſolute power of *Scotland* being, at that time "confeſſedly veſted in the Marquis of *Argyle*, it might reaſonably be fear'd, and expected, that the King ſhould n "ſooner arrive there, and the leaſt appearance be diſcover' "of ſuch reſolutions, or alterations in the Affections of th "People, upon which the *Hamiltonian* Faction wholely an "ſolely depended, but *Argyle* would immediately deliver u "the Perſon of the King into the hands of *Cromwell*; an "with the Aſſiſtance He would willingly give, make th "Kingdom Tributary or Subſervient to him, whilſt the Kin "remain'd his Priſoner, and *Argyle* continued his Vice-geren "in *Scotland*. No doubt theſe objections had too muc weight in them not to be thought worthy of Apprehenſion by many Men, who were not blinded with paſſion, or amaze with deſpair: And though they were not able to give an other Counſel, what Courſe the King might ſteer with reaſonable hope and ſecurity, they might yet warrantably diſwade his expoſing himſelf to ſo many viſible dangers as th Voyage was ſubject to both at Sea and Land; and might prudently believe, that the enjoying the empty title of King, i

wh

hat obſcurity ſoever, in any part of the world, was to be
erferr'd before the empty name of King in any of his own
ominions; which was the beſt that could reaſonably be
pected from the conditions which were impoſed upon him;
which he was compelled to ſubmit.

DURING this time, when the Embaſſadours who were in
ain, expected every day to hear of his Majeſty's being ar-
v'd in *Ireland*, and had thereupon importuned that Court
r a diſpatch, the King gave them notice of this his reſolu-
on, and directed them "to remain where they were, till he
could better judge of his own Fortune. They were ex-
emely troubled, both of them having always had a ſtrong
erſion that the King ſhould ever venture himſelf in the
nds of that Party of the *Scotiſh* Nation, which had treated
s Father ſo perfidiouſly. And they were now neceſſitated
ſtay there, where they had receiv'd ſo little Encourage-
ent, and had no reaſon to expect more. They therefore
ſolv'd to ſet the beſt face they could upon it, and deſired
Audience from the King: in which they told his Catho-
k Majeſty, "that they had receiv'd Letters from the King
heir Maſter; who commanded them to inform his Majeſty,
who, he knew well, would be glad to hear of any good
fortune that befel him, that it had now pleaſed God to work
ſo far upon the hearts and affections of his Subjects of *Scot-*
'and, that they had given over all thoſe Factions and A-
nimoſities, which had heretofore divided them, and made
them rather Inſtruments of miſchiefs, than benefit to his
leſſed Father, and to himſelf: that they were now ſenſi-
ole of all thoſe Miſcarriages, and had ſent unanimouſly to
intreat his Majeſty to come into that Kingdom, and to take
them all into his Protection; with which his Majeſty was
o well ſatisfied, that he had laid aſide the thought of tranſ-
porting himſelf into *Ireland*; which he had intended to
do; and was gone into *Scotland*; where the Kingdom was
entirely at his devotion, and from whence he could viſit
England, or *Ireland*, as he found it moſt convenient: and
hat he had reaſon to believe, that his friends in either of
he Kingdoms, would quickly appear in Armes, when they
were ſure to be ſo powerfully aſſiſted, and ſeconded. And
ey ſaid, "they would, from time to time, inform his Ma-
eſty of the good ſucceſs that ſhould fall out. The King
ofeſſed "to be very glad of this good News; and that
hey ſhould aſſure the King their Maſter, that he would be
lways ready to make all the demonſtration of a Brotherly
Affection that the ill condition of his own Affairs would
ermit, and that, if it pleaſed God to give a Peace to the
"two

The two Embaſſadours in Spain *had Order from the King to ſtay where they were.*

They acquaint the King of Spain *with their Maſter's reſolution for* Scotland.

The King of Spain's *Anſwer to them.*

“two Crowns, the world ſhould ſee how forward he wou “ be to revenge the wrong, and indignity the King of gre “ *Britain* had undergone.

THOUGH the Embaſſadours themſelves were afflicte with the News of his Majeſty's being gone for *Scotlan* upon the too much knowledge they had of the treachery that Faction there, yet they found his Majeſty was much t more eſteem'd in this Court by it. He was before look upon as being diſpoſſeſſed, and diſinherited of all his Dom nions, as if he had no more Subjects than thoſe few wh were baniſh'd with him, and that there was an entire defecti in all the reſt. But now that he was poſſeſſed of one who Kingdom, in which no Man appear'd in Armes againſt hi a Kingdom which had been famous for many warlike Ac ons, and which always bred a very warlike People, whi had borne good parts in all the Wars of *Europe* in this Ag and had been celebrated in them, was a happy advance, a adminiſter'd reaſonable hope that he might be eſtabliſh'd the other two Kingdoms, in one of which he was thought have a good, and was known to have a numerous Army Foot at that very time: ſo that the Embaſſadours were mu better look'd upon than they had been; and when they ma any complaints of injuries done to any of the *Engliſh* M chants who liv'd in the Ports of *Spain*, as they had ſometin occaſion to do, upon Taxes and Impoſitions laid upon the contrary to the Treaties which had been made, and whi they ſaid were ſtill in force, they were heard with reſpec the Merchants were reliev'd; and many favours were done particular Perſons upon their deſires and interpoſition: ſo t they were not ſo much out of Countenance as they had be and all Men ſpoke with more freedom and deteſtation agai the Rebellion in *England*, and the barbarity thereof, than t had uſed to do.

THERE fell out at this time, and before the King *Holland*, an accident of ſuch a prodigious nature, that, if P vidence had not, for the reproach of *Scotland*, determi that the King ſhould once more make experiment of the c rage and fidelity of that Nation, could not but have diver his Majeſty from that Northern Expedition; which, h unſecure ſoever it appear'd to be for the King, was prede nated for a greater chaſtiſement and mortification of t People, as it ſhortly after prov'd to be. When the K had left *Holland*, the Summer before, and intended only make *France* his way to *Ireland*, he had given his Commiſ to the Marquis of *Mountroſe*, to gather ſuch a force toget as by the help of the Northern Princes he might be enab do. Upon which the Marquis, who was naturally full of reat thoughts, and confident of Succeſs, ſent ſeveral Of- cers who had ſerv'd in *Germany*, and promiſed very much, draw ſuch Troops together as they ſhould be enabled to o, and himſelf, with a great Train of Officers and Ser- ants, went for ***Hamburg***; which he appointed for the Ren- ezvous for all theſe Troops, and from whence he could in he mean time viſit ſuch Courts of the Neighbour Princes nd States, as he ſhould be encouraged to do; and keep ſuch ntelligence with his Friends in *Scotland*, as ſhould provide or his reception.

The Marquis of Mountroſe *goes for* Hamburg *to ſolicite for Forces.*

BESIDES the hopes and encouragement he had receiv'd from the Embaſſadour *Wolfelte*, to expect good Supplies in *Denmark*, there were many Officers of good Name and Account in *Sweden*, of the *Scotiſh* Nation, who were grown Rich, and liv'd in plenty in that Kingdom. With the principal of them, the Marquis had held Correſpondence; who undertook, as well for others as for themſelves, "that if the "Marquis engaged himſelf in the King's Service in the King"dom of *Scotland*, they would give him notable Aſſiſtance "in Money, Armes, and Men. In a word, he ſent, or went in Perſon, to both thoſe Kingdoms; where he found the performance very diſproportionable to their promiſes. Queen *Chriſtina* had receiv'd an Agent from *England* with wonderful Civility and Grace, and expreſs'd a great eſteem of the Perſon of *Cromwell*, as a Man of glorious Atchievements; and before ſhe reſign'd the Crown, which ſhe in few years after did, ſhe engaged it in a faſt Alliance with the new Commonwealth, and diſpoſed her Succeſſor to look upon it as a neceſſary Support to his Crown. In *Denmark*, the Marquis found good Wiſhes enough, a hearty deteſtation of all the Villainies which had been acted in *England*, and as hearty wiſhes for the Advancement and Proſperity of the King's Affairs; but the Kingdom it ſelf was very Poor, and full of Diſcontent, the King not ſo much eſteem'd, becauſe not ſo much fear'd, as his Father had been, and he had been compell'd to make many unreaſonable Conceſſions to *Holland*, that he might have Aſſiſtance from them, to Protect him from thoſe Aſſaults and Invaſions which were threaten'd from *Sweden*. So that the Marquis was obliged to return to *Hamburg*, with very ſmall Supplies, from either or both thoſe Kingdoms: And there he receiv'd no better account from thoſe Officers who had been ſent into *Germany*. His deſign had always been to Land in the High-lands of *Scotland*, before the Winter Seaſon ſhould be over, both for the ſafety of his Embarkation, and that he might have time to draw

thoſe People together, who, he knew, would be willing to re
pair to him, before it ſhould be known at *Edenborough* th
he was Landed in the Kingdom. He had, by frequent Me
ſages, kept a conſtant Correſpondence with thoſe princip
Heads of the Clans who were moſt powerful in the Hig
lands, and were of known, or unſuſpected Affection to th
King, and advertiſed them of all his motions and deſign
And by them acquainted thoſe of the Low-lands of all h
Reſolutions; who had promiſed, upon the firſt notice c
his arrival, to reſort with all their Friends and Followers t
him.

WHETHER theſe Men did really believe, that their ow
ſtrength would be ſufficient to ſubdue their Enemies, wh
were grown generally odious, or thought the bringing ove
Troops of Forreigners would leſſen the Numbers and Affe
ctions of the Natives, they did write very earneſtly to th
Marquis, "to haſten his coming over with Officers, Arme
"and Ammunition; for which he ſhould find hands enough
and gave him notice, "that the Committee of Eſtates a
"*Edenborough* had ſent again to the King to come over t
"them; and that the People were ſo impatient for his pre
"ſence, that *Argyle* was compell'd to conſent to the Invita
"tion. It is very probable that this made the greateſt im
preſſion upon him. He knew very well how few Perſon
there were about the King, who were like to continue firn
in thoſe Principles, which could only confirm his Majeſty i
his former Reſolutions againſt the perſwaſions, and importu
nities of many others, who knew how to repreſent to hin
the deſperateneſs of his Condition any other way, than b
repairing into *Scotland* upon any Conditions. *Mountro*
knew, that of the two Factions there, which were not lik
to be reconciled, each of them were equally his implacabl
Enemies; ſo that which ſoever prevail'd, He ſhould be ſti
in the ſame State, the whole Kirk, of what temper ſoever
being alike malicious to Him; and hearing likewiſe of th
ſucceſſive Misfortunes in *Ireland*, he concluded, the Kin
would not truſt himſelf there. Therefore upon the whol
and concluding that all his hopes from *Germany* and thoſ
Northern Princes would not encreaſe the ſtrength he ha
already, he cauſed, in the depth of the Winter, thoſe Soldier
he had drawn together, which did not amount to above fiv
hundred, to be Embarked, and ſent Officers with them, wh
knew the Country, with directions that they ſhould Lan
in ſuch a place in the High-lands, and remain there, as the
might well do, till he came to them, or ſent them Orders
And then in another Veſſel Mann'd by People well know

tc

o him, and Commanded by a Captain very faithful to the King, and who was well acquainted with that Coaſt, he Emarked himſelf, and near one hundred Officers, and Landed n another Creek, not far from the other place, whither his Soldiers were directed. And both the one and the other Party were ſet ſafely on Shore in the places they deſign'd; rom whence the Marquis himſelf with ſome Servants, and Officers, repair'd preſently to the Houſe of a Gentleman of Quality, with whom he had correſponded, who expected im; by whom he was well receiv'd, and thought himſelf to be in ſecurity till he might put his Affairs in ſome method: And therefore order'd his other ſmall Troops to contain themelves in thoſe uncouth Quarters, in which they were, and where he thought they were not like to be diſturb'd by the viſitation of any Enemy.

Mountroſe *Embarks for* Scotland; *Lands there in* March 1649.

AFTER he had ſtay'd there a ſhort time, it being in *March* about the end of the year 1649, he quickly poſſeſs'd himſelf of an old Caſtle; which, in reſpect of the Situation n a Country ſo impoſſible for any Army to march in, he thought ſtrong enough for his purpoſe: thither he convey'd the Armes, Ammunition, and Troops, which he had brought with him. And then he publiſh'd his Declaration, "that he "came with the King's Commiſſion, to aſſiſt thoſe his good "Subjects, and to preſerve them from oppreſſion: That he "did not intend to give any interruption to the Treaty that "he heard was enter'd into with his Majeſty; but, on the "contrary, hoped that his being in the head of an Army, how "ſmall ſoever, that was faithful to the King, might advance "the ſame. However, he had given ſufficient proof in his "former Actions, that if any Agreement were made with the "King, upon the firſt Order from his Majeſty, he ſhould lay "down his Armes, and diſpoſe himſelf according to his Ma"jeſty's good pleaſure. Theſe Declarations he ſent to his Friends to be ſcatter'd by them, and diſperſed amongſt the People, as they could be able. He writ likewiſe to thoſe of the Nobility, and the Heads of the ſeveral Clans, "to draw "ſuch Forces together, as they thought neceſſary to joyn with "him; and he receiv'd Anſwers from many of them, by which they deſired him "to advance more into the Land (for he was yet in the remoteſt parts of *Cathneſs*) and aſſured him, "that they would meet him with good Numbers: And they did prepare ſo to do, ſome really; and others, with a purpoſe to betray him.

Publiſhes his Declaration.

IN this ſtate ſtood the Affair in the end of the year 1649: but becauſe the unfortunate Tragedy of that Noble Perſon ſucceeded ſo ſoon after, without the intervention of any notable circum-

The continuation of Mountroſe's *Affairs, after the end of the year* 49, *to his death.*

circumſtances to interrupt it, We will rather continue the relation of it in this place, than defer it to be reſum'd in th proper ſeaſon; which quickly enſued, in the beginning of th next year. The Marquis of *Argyle* was vigilant enough, t obſerve the motion of an Enemy that was ſo formidabl to him; and had preſent information of his Arrival in th High-lands, and of the ſmall Forces which he had brough with him. The Parliament was then ſitting at *Edenborough* their Meſſenger being return'd to them from *Jerſey*, with a account, "that the King would treat with their Commiſ"ſioners at *Breda*; for whom they were preparing their Inſtructions.

Colonel Straghan *ſent againſt him and his ſmall Forces.*

THE Alarm of *Mountroſe*'s being Landed ſtartled them al and gave them no leiſure to think of any thing elſe than o ſending Forces to hinder the recourſe of others to joyn wit him. They immediately ſent Colonel ***Straghan*** a diligen and active Officer, with a choice Party of the beſt Horſ they had, to make all poſſible haſt towards him, and to prevent the Inſurrections, which they fear'd would be in ſevera parts of the High-lands. And, within few days after, ***Davi Leſley*** followed with a ſtronger Party of Horſe and Foo The encouragement the Marquis of *Mountroſe* receiv'd fro his Friends, and the unpleaſantneſs of the Quarters in whic he was, prevail'd with him to march, with theſe few Troop more into the Land. And the High-landers flocking to hi from all Quarters, though ill Arm'd, and worſe Diſciplin' made him undervalue any Enemy who, he thought, was ye like to encounter him. *Straghan* made ſuch haſt, that th Earl of *Southerland*, who at leaſt pretended to have gather together a Body of fifteen hundred Men to meet *Mountroſ* choſe rather to joyn with *Straghan*: others did the like, wh had made the ſame promiſes, or ſtay'd at home to expect th event of the firſt encounter. The Marquis was without an Body of Horſe to diſcover the motion of an Enemy, but depended upon all neceſſary Intelligence from the affection o the People; which he believ'd to be the ſame it was whe he left them. But they were much degenerated; the Tyranny of *Argyle*, and his having cauſed very many to be barbarouſly Murther'd, without any form of Law or Juſtic who had been in Armes with *Mountroſe*, notwithſtanding a Acts of Pardon, and Indemnity, had ſo broken their Heart that they were ready to do all offices that might gratify an oblige him. So that *Straghan* was within a ſmall diſtance o him, before he heard of his approach; and thoſe High-landers, who had ſeem'd to come with much Zeal to hin whether terrified, or corrupted, left him on a ſuddain, o threw down their Armes; ſo that he had none left, but a Company of good Officers, and five or ſix hundred Forreigners, *Dutch* and *Germans*, who had been acquainted with their Officers. With theſe, he betook himſelf to a place of ſome advantage by the inequality of the ground, and the buſhes and ſmall ſhrubs which fill'd it: and there they made a defence for ſome time with notable Courage.

BUT the Enemy being ſo much ſuperior in number, the Common Soldiers, being all Forreigners, after about a hundred of them were kill'd upon the Place, threw down their Armes; and the Marquis, ſeeing all loſt, threw away his Riban and *George* (for he was Knight of the Garter) and found means to change his Cloaths with a Fellow of the Country, and ſo after having gone on foot two or three miles, he got into a Houſe of a Gentleman, where he remain'd conceal'd about two days: moſt of the other Officers were ſhortly after taken Priſoners, all the Country deſiring to merit from *Argyle* by betraying all thoſe into his hands which they believ'd to be his Enemies. And thus, whether by the owner of the Houſe, or any other way, the Marquis himſelf became their Priſoner. The Strangers who were taken, were ſet at Liberty, and Tranſported themſelves into their own Countries; and the Caſtle, in which there was a little Garriſon, preſently render'd it ſelf; ſo that there was no more fear of an Enemy in thoſe parts.

By whom Mountroſe *is routed.*

The Marqui of Mountroſe *taken Priſoner.*

THE Marquis of *Mountroſe*, and the reſt of the Priſoners, were the next day, or ſoon after, deliver'd to *David Leſley*; who was come up with his Forces, and had now nothing left to do but to carry them in Triumph to *Edenborough*; whither Notice was quickly ſent of their great Victory; which was receiv'd there with wonderful joy, and acclamation. *David Leſley* treated the Marquis with great inſolence, and for ſome days carried him in the ſame Cloaths, and Habit, in which he was taken; but at laſt permitted him to buy better. His behaviour was, in the whole time, ſuch as became a great Man; his countenance Serene and Chearful, as one that was ſuperior to all thoſe reproaches, which they had prepar'd the People to pour out upon him in all the places through which he was to paſs.

WHEN he came to one of the Gates of *Edenborough*, he was met by ſome of the Magiſtrates, to whom he was deliver'd, and by them preſently put into a new Cart purpoſely made, in which there was a high Chair, or Bench, upon which he ſate, that the People might have a full view of him, being bound with a Cord drawn over his breaſt and ſhoulders, and faſten'd through holes made in the Cart. When he

Brought to Edenborough.

was in this poſture, the Hangman took off his hat, and rode himſelf before the Cart in his Livery, and with his Bonnet on; the other Officers, who were taken Priſoners with him, walking two and two before the Cart; the Streets, and Windows being full of People to behold the Triumph over a Perſon whoſe Name had made them tremble ſome few years before, and into whoſe hands the Magiſtrates of that place had, upon their Knees, deliver'd the Keys of that City. In this manner he was carried to the Common Goal, where he was receiv'd and treated as a Common Malefactor. Within two days after, he was brought before the Parliament, where the Earl of *Lowden*, the Chancellor, made a very bitter and virulent Declaration againſt him: told him, “he had broken “all the Covenants by which that whole Nation ſtood ob-“lig'd; and had impiouſly rebell'd againſt God, the King, and “the Kingdom; that he had committed many horrible Mur-“thers, Treaſons, and Impieties, for all which he was now “brought to ſuffer condign puniſhment; with all thoſe inſolent reproaches upon his Perſon, and his Actions, which the liberty of that place gave him leave to uſe.

le is brought fore the arliament:

His behavi- ur there.

PERMISSION was then given him to ſpeak; and without the leaſt trouble in his countenance, or diſorder, upon all the indignities he had ſuffer'd, he told them, “ſince the King “had own'd them ſo far as to treat with them, he had appear'd “before them with reverence, and bare-headed, which other-“wiſe he would not willingly have done: that he had done “nothing of which he was aſham'd, or had cauſe to repent; “that the firſt Covenant, he had taken, and comply'd with it, “and with them who took it, as long as the ends for which “it was ordain'd were obſerv'd; but when he diſcover'd, “which was now evident to all the world, that private and “particular Men deſign'd to ſatisfy their own ambition and “intereſt, inſtead of conſidering the Publick benefit; and that, “under the pretence of reforming ſome errors in Religion, “they reſolv'd to abridge, and take away the King's juſt power, “and lawful authority, he had withdrawn himſelf from that “Engagement: that for the League and Covenant, he had “never taken it, and therefore could not break it: and it was “now too apparent to the whole Chriſtian World, what “monſtrous miſchiefs it had produced: that when, under co-“lour of it, an Army from *Scotland* had invaded *England* “in Aſſiſtance of the Rebellion that was then againſt their “Lawful King, he had, by his Majeſty's Command, receiv'd “a Commiſſion from him to raiſe Forces in *Scotland*, that he “might thereby divert them from the other odious proſecu-“tion: that he had executed that Commiſſion with the obe-

“ dience and duty he ow'd to the King; and in all the circumſtances of it, had proceeded like a Gentleman; and had never ſuffer'd any Blood to be ſhed but in the heat of the Battle; and that he ſaw many Perſons there, whoſe lives he “ had ſaved: that when the King commanded him, he laid “ down his Armes, and withdrew out of the Kingdom; which “ they could not have compell'd him to have done. He ſaid, “ he was now again enter'd into the Kingdom by his Majeſty's Command, and with his Authority: and what Succeſs “ ſoever it might have pleaſed God to have given him, he “ would always have obeyed any commands he ſhould have “ receiv'd from him. He adviſed them, “ to conſider well of “ the conſequence before they proceeded againſt him, and “ that all his Actions might be examin'd, and judg'd by the “ Laws of the Land, or thoſe of Nations.

The Sentence againſt him.

Assoon as he had ended his diſcourſe, he was order'd to withdraw; and, after a ſhort ſpace, was again brought in; and told by the Chancellor, “ that he was, on the Morrow, “ being the one and twentieth of *May* 1650, to be carried to “ *Edenborough* Croſs, and there to be hanged upon a Gallows “ thirty foot high, for the ſpace of three hours, and then “ to be taken down, and his head to be cut off upon a Scaffold, and hanged on *Edenborough* Tolbooth; his Legs and “ Armes to be hanged up in other publick Towns of the “ Kingdom, and his body to be buried at the place where he “ was to be executed, except the Kirk ſhould take off his Excommunication; and then his body might be buried in the “ common place of burial. He deſired, “ that he might ſay “ ſomewhat to them; but was not ſuffer'd, and ſo was carried back to the Priſon.

His diſcourſe with the Presbyterian Miniſters.

That he might not enjoy any eaſe or quiet during the ſhort remainder of life, their Miniſters came preſently to inſult over him with all the reproaches imaginable; pronounced his damnation; and aſſured him, “ that the judgement he was “ the next day to ſuffer, was but an eaſy Prologue to that which “ he was to undergo afterwards. After many ſuch barbarities, they offer'd to intercede for him to the Kirk upon his repentance, and to pray with him; but he too well underſtood the Form of Their Common Prayer, in thoſe Caſes, to be only the moſt virulent, and inſolent imprecations upon the Perſons of thoſe they prayed againſt “ (Lord, vouchſafe Yet “ to touch the obdurate heart of this proud incorrigible Sinner, this wicked, perjured, and prophane Perſon, who refuſes to hearken to the voice of thy Kirk, and the like charitable expreſſions) and therefore he deſired them “ to ſpare “ their pains, and to leave him to his own Devotions. He told them. "that they were a miſerable, deluded, and deluding People; and would ſhortly bring that poor Nation under the moſt inſupportable Servitude ever People had ſubmitted to. He told them, "he was prouder to have his "head ſet upon the place it was appointed to be, than he "could have been to have had his Picture hang in the King's "Bed-Chamber: that he was ſo far from being troubled that "his four Limbs were to be hang'd in four Cities of the Kingdom, that he heartily wiſh'd that he had fleſh enough to be "ſent to every City in *Chriſtendom*, as a Teſtimony of the "Cauſe for which he ſuffer'd.

is Execu- on.

THE next day, they executed every part and circumſtance of that barbarous Sentence, with all the inhumanity imaginable; and he bore it with all the courage and magnanimity, and the greateſt piety, that a good Chriſtian could manifeſt. He magnified the virtue, courage, and Religion of the laſt King, exceedingly commended the juſtice, and goodneſs, and underſtanding of the preſent King; and prayed, "that they "might not betray Him, as they had done his Father. When he had ended all he meant to ſay, and was expecting to expire, they had yet one Scene more to Act of their Tyranny. The Hangman brought the Book that had been publiſh'd of his truly Heroick Actions, whilſt he had commanded in that Kingdom, which Book was tied in a ſmall Cord that was put about his Neck. The Marquis ſmiled at this new inſtance of their Malice, and thanked them for it; and ſaid, "he was "pleaſed that it ſhould be there; and was prouder of wearing it than ever he had been of the Garter; and ſo renewing ſome devout Ejaculations, he patiently endured the laſt Act of the Executioner.

he Execu- on of his ficers.

SOON after, the Officers who had been taken with him, Sr *William Urry*, Sr *Francis Hay*, and many others, of as good Families as any in the Kingdom, were executed, to the number of thirty or forty, in ſeveral quarters of the Kingdom; many of them being ſuffer'd to be beheaded. There was one whom they thought fit to ſave, one Colonel *Whitford*; who, when he was brought to dye, ſaid "he knew the reaſon why "he was put to death; which was only becauſe he had killed "*Doriſlaus* at the *Hague*; who was one of thoſe who had joyn'd in the Murther of the laſt King. One of the Magiſtrates, who were preſent to ſee the Execution, cauſed it to be ſuſpended, till he preſently inform'd the Council what the Man had ſaid, and they thought fit to avoid the reproach; and ſo preſerv'd the Gentleman; who was not before known to have had a hand in that Action.

THUS died the gallant Marquis of *Mountroſe*, after he had given as great a Teſtimony of Loyalty, and Courage, as a Subject can do, and perform'd as wonderful Actions in ſeveral Battles, upon as great inequality of Numbers, and as great diſadvantages in reſpect of Armes, and other preparations for War, as have been perform'd in this Age. He was a Gentleman of a very ancient Extraction, many of whoſe Anceſtors had exerciſed the higheſt Charges under the King in that Kingdom, and had been allied to the Crown it ſelf. He was of very good parts, which were improv'd by a good Education: he had always a great emulation, or rather a great contempt of the Marquis of *Argyle* (as he was too apt to contemn thoſe he did not love) who wanted nothing but honeſty and courage to be a very extraordinary Man, having all other good Talents in a very great degree. *Mountroſe* was in his nature fearleſs of danger, and never declined any Enterpriſe for the difficulty of going through with it, but exceedingly affected thoſe which ſeem'd deſperate to other Men, and did believe ſomewhat to be in himſelf above other Men, which made him live more eaſily towards thoſe who were, or were willing to be, inferior to him (towards whom he exerciſed wonderful civility, and generoſity) than with his Superiors or Equals. He was naturally jealous, and ſuſpected thoſe who did not concur with him in the way, not to mean ſo well as he. He was not without Vanity, but his Virtues were much ſuperior, and he well deſerv'd to have his Memory preſerv'd, and celebrated amongſt the moſt illuſtrious Perſons of the Age in which he liv'd.

His Chara-cter.

The King receives t News of this.

THE King receiv'd an Account and Information of all theſe particulars, before he embarked from *Holland*, without any other Apology for the Affront and Indignity to himſelf, than that they aſſured him, "that the proceeding againſt the "late Marquis of *Mountroſe* had been for his Service. They who were moſt diſpleaſed with *Argyle* and his Faction, were not ſorry for this inhuman, and monſtrous proſecution; which at the ſame time muſt render him the more odious, and had rid them of an Enemy that they thought would have been more dangerous to them; and they perſwaded the King, who was enough afflicted with the News, and all the circumſtances of it, "that he might ſooner take revenge upon "that People by a temporary complying with them, and going to them, than ſtaying away, and abſenting himſelf, "which would inveſt them in an abſolute Dominion in that "Kingdom, and give them power to corrupt or deſtroy all "thoſe who yet remain'd faithful to him, and were ready to "ſpend their lives in his Service: and ſo his Majeſty purſued his former reſolution of embarking for *Scotland*.

affairs Ireland. IN *Ireland*, after the Maſſacre of that Body of *Engliſh* at *Tredagh*, and the treacherous giving up the Towns in *Munſter*, by the Officers of the Lord *Inchiquin*, there broke out ſo implacable a jealouſy amongſt the *Iriſh* againſt all the *Engliſh*, that no Orders of the Marquis of *Ormond* found any obedience, nor could he draw an Army together. At the making of the Peace, he had conſented that the Confederate Roman Catholicks ſhould name a Number of the Commiſſioners, by whoſe Orders and Miniſtry all Levies of Men, and all Collections of Money were to be made, according to the directions of the Lord Lieutenant. And ſuch Perſons were named, in whoſe Affections, for the moſt part, the Lieutenant was well ſatisfied, and the reſt were ſuch as were not like to be able to give any interruption. A certain Number of theſe were appointed to be always in the Army, and near the Perſon of the Lord Lieutenant, and the reſt in their ſeveral Stations, where they were moſt like to advance the Service. Many of theſe Commiſſioners were of the Roman Catholick Nobility, Perſons of Honour, and very ſenſible of the weakneſs, wilfulneſs, and wickedneſs of that Rebellion; and did manifeſt all poſſible zeal and affection to the King's Service, engaging their Perſons in all Enterpriſes of danger, and uſing all poſſible induſtry to raiſe Men and Money, whereby the Lord Lieutenant might be enabled to carry on the War in the Spring. But many of the other, after thoſe misfortunes had fallen out, which are mention'd before, either totally deſponded, and rather thought of providing for themſelves than for the preſervation of the Publick; or fomented the jealouſies which were amongſt the *Iriſh*, and incenſed them againſt the *Engliſh*, who were ſtill with the Lord Lieutenant; ſo that his Orders were not obey'd at all, or not in time, which was as bad; and their Clergy and Fryars publickly incenſed the People againſt the Articles of the Peace, and deſired to have an Army raiſed apart under a General of their own.

THE Lord Lieutenant now diſcover'd the Reaſon, why *Owen O Neile* had refuſed to conſent to the Peace which the Confederate Roman Catholicks had made with the King, and kept his Army in *Ulſter* from ſubmitting thereunto, and pretended to deſire to treat apart with the Lord Lieutenant for himſelf; which was then thought to proceed from the jealouſy that was between Him and *Preſton*, and the Animoſity between thoſe old *Iriſh* of *Ulſter*, and the other of the other Provinces. But the truth was, from the time of the Marquis of *Ormond's* tranſporting himſelf out of *France*, and that the correſpondence was diſcover'd to be between Him and the Lord *Inchiquin*, and the Treaty begun with the Confederate Catholicks, the cloſe Committee at *Weſtminſter* ſent ſecret Inſtructions to *Monk*, who Commanded part of their Forces in *Ireland*, “that he ſhould endeavour to treat with “*Owen O Neile*, and ſo divide him from the reſt of the *Iriſh*; which *Monk* found opportunity to do: And it was no ſooner propoſed than hearken'd unto by O *Neile*; who preſently ſent a truſty Meſſenger with ſuch Propoſitions to *Monk*, as he deſired to have granted to him. He offer'd, “with his Army, “which ſhould always conſiſt of ſuch a Number of Horſe “and Foot, and Artillery, as ſhould be agreed between them, “to ſerve the Parliament; and not to ſeparate from their In“tereſt; and propoſed, “that he, and all his Party that ſhould “adhere to him, ſhould enjoy the Exerciſe of their Religion, “without any prejudice or diſadvantage: That himſelf might “be reſtored to thoſe Lands which his Anceſtors had been “poſſeſſed of in *Tyrone*, *London-Derry*, or any other parts of “*Ireland*; and that all thoſe, who had or would adhere to “him, ſhould be likewiſe reſtored to their Eſtates; and that “an Act of Oblivion might be granted. *Monk* receiv'd theſe Propoſitions; and after he had peruſed them, he ſent him word, “that there were ſome particulars, which, he doubted, “would ſhock and offend the Parliament, and therefore de“ſired they might be alter'd; and propoſed the alterations he adviſed; which principally concern'd the Publick Exerciſe of their Religion; which he ſo qualified, that they might well enough ſatisfy; and propoſed, “that, if O *Neile* would “conſent to thoſe alterations, he would return the Treaty “ſign'd by him; which he would immediately ſend over to “the Parliament for their confirmation; and that, in the mean “time, there might be a Ceſſation of Armes between them “for three Months; in which time, and much leſs, he pre“ſumed, he ſhould receive a Ratification of the Treaty from “the Parliament.

OWEN O *Neile* conſented to the alterations, ſet his Hand and Seal to the Treaty, and return'd it to *Monk*, with his conſent likewiſe to the Ceſſation for three Months. And at this time it was, that he refuſed to agree with the Confederate Council at *Kilkenny* in the Peace with the King. *Monk* ſent it preſently to the Committee, which had given him Authority to do what he had done. But their Affairs were now better compoſed at home, and ſome preparations were made towards ſending relief for *Ireland*; beſides, they had not Authority to make any ſuch Ratification, but preſented it to the Parliament, which could only give it. It was no ſooner reported there but the Houſe was on fire; all Men inveigh'd

The Houſe refuſes to Ratify Monk's *Treaty with* Owen O Neile.

againſt "the preſumption of *Monk*, who deſerv'd to be diſ-"placed, and to have his Command taken from him, and to "have exemplary puniſhment inflicted on him. They re-"member'd how Criminal they had declared it to be in the "King himſelf, to have treated, and made a Peace with the "*Iriſh* Rebels: And what would the People think, and ſay, "if any countenance ſhould be given to the ſame tranſgreſ-"ſion by the Parliament? if they ſhould Ratify a Treaty mad "by the moſt notorious of the Rebels, and with that Peo-"ple under his Command, who were the moſt notoriou "Contrivers of that Rebellion, and the moſt bloody Execu-"tioners of it? for the moſt Mercileſs Maſſacres had bee "committed in *Ulſter*, by that very People who now conſti-"tuted that Army of which *Owen O Neile* was now General After all the paſſion and choler which they thought neceſ-ſary to expreſs upon this ſubject, "they declared, "that the "had given no Authority to *Monk* to enter into that Treaty "and therefore, that it was void, and ſhould never be con-"firm'd by them; but that, ſince he had proceeded out o "the ſincerity of his Heart, and as he thought (how erro-"neouſly ſoever) for the good and benefit of the Common-"wealth, he ſhould be excuſed; and no farther queſtion'c "thereupon. For they knew well, that he could produc ſuch a Warrant from thoſe in Authority, as would well ju-ſtify his proceeding: And ſo the Treaty with *Owen O Neil* became void, though they had receiv'd a very conſiderabl benefit by it; for though the *Scots* in *Ulſter* had not yet ſub-mitted to the Peace, and had not yet receiv'd directions fror *Edenborough* to acknowledge the Authority of the Lord Lieu-tenant, which they ought to have had before that time, yet after the Murther of the late King, they had uſed all Acts o Hoſtility againſt the Parliament Forces, and had beſiegec *London-Derry*; the only conſiderable place that yielded obe-dience to the Parliament; which was defended by Sr *Charle Coote*, and when it was brought to ſome extremity, by th Ceſſation made with *Owen O Neile*, and by his connivanc and aſſiſtance, *London-Derry* was reliev'd; and *O Neile* find-ing himſelf deluded by the Parliament, ſent then to offer hi Service and Conjunction to the Lord Lieutenant, with abun-dant profeſſions of Fidelity, and Revenge.

CROMWELL made notable uſe of this Animoſity betwee the *Iriſh* amongſt themſelves, and of the jealouſy they all ap-pear'd to have of the Marquis of *Ormond* and of thoſe whc adher'd to him; and uſed all the Endeavours he could, by ſome Priſoners who were taken, and by others who were ir the Towns which were betray'd to him, and were wel known to have affection for the Marquis, to procure a conference with him. He uſed to ask in ſuch Company, "what "the Marquis of *Ormond* had to do with *Charles Stuart*, and "what obligations he had ever receiv'd from him? And then would mention the hard meaſure his Grand-father had receiv'd from King *James*, and the many years Impriſonment he had ſuſtain'd by him, for not ſubmitting to an extrajudicial and private determination of his; which yet he was at laſt compell'd to do. He ſaid "he was confident, if the Marquis and "He could meet together, upon Conference, they ſhould "part very good Friends. And many of thoſe with whom he held theſe diſcourſes, by his permiſſion and licence, inform'd the Marquis of all he ſaid; who endeavour'd nothing but to put himſelf into ſuch a Poſture, as to be able to meet him as he deſired to do.

Cromwell *gives the* Iriſh *leave to Tranſport themſelves into any Prince's Service.*

WHEN *Cromwell* ſaw that he ſhould be able to do nothing that way, and knew well enough that, beſides the Army that yet remain'd under *Owen O Neile* ſo much diſobliged, and provoked, there were ſtill vaſt Bodies of the *Iriſh*, which might be drawn together into ſeveral Armies, much greater and ſuperior in number to all his Forces, and that they had ſeveral great Towns, and ſtrong Holds in their power, he declared a full Liberty, and Authority to all the Officers with the *Iriſh*, and to all other Perſons whatſoever, to raiſe what Men they would, and to Tranſport them for the Service of any Forreign Princes with whom they could make the beſt Conditions; and gave notice to the *Spaniſh* and *French* Miniſters, and Agents at *London*, of the Liberty he had granted. Upon which many Officers who had ſerv'd the King, and remain'd in *London* in great poverty and want, made Conditions with *Don Alonzo de Cardinas*, to raiſe Regiments and Tranſport them into *Spain*; and many Officers, who were already in *Spain*, as well *Engliſh* as *Iriſh*, contracted with the Miniſters in that Court to raiſe and Tranſport ſeveral Regiments into that Kingdom from *Ireland*; for which they receiv'd very great Sums of Money in hand; many Merchants joyning with them in the Contract, and undertaking the Tranſportation upon very good Conditions; there being no other danger but of the Sea in the undertaking; inſomuch that, in very few Months above a year, there were Embarked in the Ports of *Ireland* above five and twenty thouſand Men for the Kingdom of *Spain*; whereof not half were ever drawn into the Field there, and very few ever liv'd to return. For the Officers and Maſters of Ships, who contracted, and were bound to deliver their Men at ſuch Ports as were aſſign'd to them, and where care was taken for

their reception, and conduct to the Quarters which wer
appointed, according to the Service to which they were de
ſign'd, either for *Catalonia*, or *Portugal* (after they had bee
long at Sea, by which the Soldiers, who were crowded mor
together into one Ship than was fit for ſo long Voyages, ha
contracted many diſeaſes, and many were dead, and throw
over Board) aſſoon as they came upon the Coaſt made a
haſt to Land, how far ſoever from the place at which the
ſtood bound to deliver their Men; by which, in thoſe place
that could make reſiſtance, they were not ſuffer'd to Land
and in others no Proviſion was made for their reception o
march, but very great Numbers were ſtarv'd or knocked i
the Head by the Country People, and few ever came up t
the Armies, except Officers; who flock'd to *Madrid* for th
remainder of their Monies; where the Miniſters receiv'
them with reproaches for not obſerving their Conditions, an
refuſed to pay either them, or the Maſters of the Ships, wha
remain'd to be paid by them. This was the Caſe of to
many: though the truth is, where the Articles were pun
ctually obſerv'd, and the Ships arriv'd in the very Ports a
ſign'd, by the defect in the Orders ſent from the Court, o
the negligent execution of them, the poor Men were ofte
kept from diſembarking, till ſome Officers went to *Madri*
and return'd with more poſitive Orders, and afterwards
ill Proviſion was made for their refreſhing and march, th
rarely half of thoſe who were ſhipp'd in *Ireland*, ever liv
to do any Service in *Spain*: and nothing could be more wo
derful, than that the Miniſters there ſhould iſſue out ſuch va
Sums in Money for the raiſing of Soldiers, and bringi
them into the Kingdom at very liberal and bountiful rates
the Officers, and take ſo very little care to cheriſh, and nouri
them, when they came thither; which manifeſted how loo
the Government was.

IT is very true, that there was at that time a much great
inclination in the *Iriſh* for the Service of *Spain*, than of *Franc*
yet the Cardinal imploy'd more active and dextrous Inſtr
ments to make uſe of the Liberty that was granted, and Shi
ping was more eaſily procured, the paſſage being ſhorter; i
ſomuch that there were not fewer than twenty thouſand M
at the ſame time Tranſported out of *Ireland* into the Kin
dom of *France*; of whoſe behaviour in the one Kingdom a
the other, there will be abundant Argument hereafter to d
courſe at large. In the mean time, it is enough to obſer
that when the King's Lieutenant, notwithſtanding all the pr
miſes, obligations, and contracts, which the Confederate R
man Catholicks had made to, and with him, could not dra

togeth

ogether a Body of five thouſand Men (by which he might
ave been able to have given ſome ſtop to the current of
romwell's ſucceſſes) *Cromwell* himſelf found a way to ſend
bove forty thouſand Men out of that Kingdom for Service of
orreign Princes; which might have been enough to have
riven him from thence, and to have reſtor'd it to the King's
ntire obedience.

The low condition of the Loyal Party in England.

IN *England*, the Spirits of all the Loyal Party were ſo broken
nd ſubdued, that they could ſcarce breath under the inſup-
ortable burthens which were laid upon them by Impriſon-
ents, Compoſitions, and Sequeſtrations. Whatever Arti-
les they had made in the War, and whatever promiſes had
een made of Pardon and Indemnity, they were now call'd
pon to finiſh their Compoſition for their Delinquency, and
aid dear for the Credit they had given to the Profeſſions and
eclarations of the Army, when it ſeem'd to have pity, and
omplain'd of the ſevere and rigorous proceeding againſt the
ing's Party, and extorting unreaſonable penalties from them;
hich then they deſir'd might be moderated. But now the
ask was off they Sequeſter'd all their Eſtates, and left them
othing to live upon, till they ſhould compound; which
ey were forced to do at ſo unreaſonable rates, that many
ere compell'd to ſell half, that they might enjoy the other
wards the ſupport of their Families; which remainder was
ill liable to whatever impoſitions they at any time thought
t to inflict upon them, as their Perſons were to Impriſon-
ent, when any unreaſonable and groundleſs report was raiſed
 ſome Plot, and Conſpiracy againſt the State.

The Levellers mutiny; and are ſuppreſſed by Fairfax.

THE Parliament, which conſiſted only of thoſe Members
ho had ſate in Judgement, and had ſolemnly Murther'd the
ing, and of thoſe who as ſolemnly under their hands had
pprov'd, and commended what the others had done, met with
 oppoſition or contradiction from any, but an entire ſub-
iſſion from all to all they did, except only from that part of
eir own Army which had contributed moſt to the Gran-
eur and Empire of which they were poſſeſs'd, the Level-
rs. That People had been countenanced by *Cromwell* to en-
r into Cabals and Confederacies to corrupt, and diſſolve
e diſcipline of the Army, and by his Artifices had been ap-
y'd to bring all his crooked deſigns to paſs. By them he
ke the ſtrict Union between the Parliament and the *Scots*,
d then took the King out of the hands of the Parliament,
d kept him in the Army, with ſo many fair profeſſions of
ending better to his Majeſty, and his Party, than the other
d; by them the Presbyterians had been affronted, and tro-
n under foot, and the City of *London* expoſed to diſgrace

and infamy; by them he had broken the Treaty of the Iſl
of *Wight*; driven out of the Parliament, by force of Armes
all thoſe who deſir'd Peace, and at laſt executed his barbarou
Malice upon the Sacred Perſon of the King: And when he ha
apply'd them to all thoſe uſes, for which he thought them
to be moſt fit, he hoped, and endeavour'd to have reduce
them again, by a ſevere hand, into that order and obedienc
from whence he had ſeduced them, and which was now a
neceſſary to his future purpoſe of Government. But the
had taſted too much of the pleaſure of having their part, an
ſhare in it, to be willing to be ſtripped, and depriv'd of it
and made an unskilful computation of what they ſhould b
able to do for the future, by the great things they had don
before in thoſe Changes and Revolutions which are mention'd; not conſidering, that the ſuperior Officers of the Army were now united with the Parliament, and concurr'
entirely in the ſame deſigns. And therefore when they renew'd their former Expoſtulations and Demands from the Parliament, they were Caſheer'd, and Impriſon'd, and ſome o
them put to death. Yet about the time that *Cromwell*, wh
had proſecuted them with great fury, was going for *Ireland*
they recover'd their Courage, and reſolv'd to obtain thoſ
Conceſſions by force, which were refuſed to be granted upo
their requeſt: And ſo they mutiny'd in ſeveral Parts, upo
preſumption that the reſt of the Army, who would not joy
with them in publick, would yet never be prevailed with t
oppoſe, and reduce them by force. But this confidence deceiv'd them; for the Parliament no ſooner commanded the
General *Fairfax* to ſuppreſs them, than he drew Troops together, and fell upon them at *Banbury*, *Burford*, and in othe
places; and by killing ſome upon the place, and executin
others to terrify the reſt, he totally ſuppreſs'd that Faction
and the Orders of thoſe at *Weſtminſter* met with no more oppoſition.

THIS was the State and Condition of the three Kingdon
at the end of the year 1649, ſome few Months after the Kin
Embarked himſelf in *Holland* for *Scotland*. And ſince t
next year afforded great variety of unfortunate Actions, W
will end this diſcourſe, according to the method We ha
uſed, with this year: though hereafter We ſhall not contin
the ſame method; but comprehend the occurrences of ma
years in leſs room, whilſt the King reſted in a patient Exp ctation of God's Bleſſing, and Deliverance.

THE END OF THE TWELFTH BOOK.